STUDENTIFICATION IN SOUTH AFRICA: A SOCIO-SPATIAL INVESTIGATION OF NEIGHBOURHOOD CHANGE

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THESIS

Presented in the fulfilment of the requirement for the degree

PHILOSOPHIAE DOCTOR

in

GEOGRAPHY

in the

FACULTY OF SCIENCE

of the

UNIVERSITY OF JOHANNESBURG

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January 2021

DECLARATION

I, James Jenkins Gregory declare that this thesis is my own original work, conducted under the supervision of Prof J.M. Rogerson and Prof J. Saarinen. It is submitted for the degree Philosophiae Doctor in Geography in the Faculty of Science of the University of Johannesburg. No part of this research has been submitted in the past or is being submitted for a degree or examined at any other institution.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writing of this thesis has been a journey of tremendous growth in both my academic career but also my personal life. It would not have been possible without the support and love from various individuals. First, I would like to thank my supervisor Prof Jayne Rogerson for mentoring me. Your supportive feedback helped shape this thesis. Thank you for pushing me to publish and for all the other career advice. I appreciate our relationship tremendously. I would also like to thank my co-supervisor Prof Jarkko Saarinen for organising a visit to the University of Oulu in Finland in 2017/18. During this visit I attended a methodology workshop, which helped inform the methodological design of this thesis. I am also incredibly appreciative of your comments on the final drafts of this thesis. I would also like to thank my former colleagues at the Department of Geography, Environmental Management and Energy Studies at the University of Johannesburg. In particular, thanks to Desire Greenberg, Julia Giddy and Clare Kelso for your friendship and support. Many thanks to Arno Booysen who produced the maps for this thesis. Thanks to Mark Straw for allowing me to use some of his photographs. A special thank you to Thapelo Steven Manganye and Nhlanhla Sibisi for helping me to recruit students for the focus groups and for administering the survey.

Towards the end of 2019 I moved to Mahikeng to take up a lectureship at the North West University (NWU). Many thanks to the Department of Geography and Environmental Sciences at the NWU for creating a supportive environment to complete this thesis. In particular, I would like to thank Chris Holdridge and Karen Visser, without your support Mahikeng would have been a much lonelier place. Most of this thesis was written during the COVID-19 global pandemic. Despite the uncertainty and anxiety surrounding the pandemic, the lockdown did help me to find the quiet time needed to focus on completing this thesis. Lastly, a huge thank you to my family for your love and support. I know you were all anxious for me to "just get it done". Thanks to my parents Alta and James for your love and support and for always being so proud of me. Thanks to my sister Janine, WP and the kids, Janke and Giselle – your love and support means the world to me. Lastly, to my dear Ouma Dora. I can finally say I am done. I know how much this means to you.

Some of the findings of this research has been published in accredited journals. Research on the studentification and commodification of student lifestyle in Braamfontein, Johannesburg was published in *Urbani izziv* in 2019. Research on housing in multiple

occupation and studentification was published in *Bulletin of Geography: Socio-economic series* in 2019. In addition, I have also contributed a chapter on studentification and urban change in South Africa in an edited book, *Urban Geography in South Africa: Perspectives and Theory* in 2020. The references for these publications are available under Gregory J.J. in the reference list of this thesis.

ABSTRACT

Urban geographical research focused on neighbourhood change has interested researchers for more than a century. Throughout this period various schools of thought have sought to understand the dynamics that contribute to aspects of urban and neighbourhood change. Gentrification has become an important process for understanding how the circulation of capital and culture influences and contributes to neighbourhood change. Various 'new forms' of gentrification emerged in recent decades. The term studentification, which focuses on the broad economic, social, and cultural impacts of students on cities entered academic discourse in the early 2000s. Since then, this emerging form of neighbourhood change has enjoyed sustained research interest in the United Kingdom and other parts of the global North. Except for a few case studies, studentification is largely neglected in the global South. The global trends of the neoliberalisation and massification of higher education have seen expanded student enrolment since the 1980s. This has impacted university cities and towns as students are channelled into private student accommodation. In addition to housing, students also actively shape spaces of entertainment and contribute to the night-time economy of cities. The impact of studentification is often seen as disruptive to communities. The conflicting lifestyles of students and residents can lead to conflict and displacement.

This thesis explores recent changes in South Africa's higher education system. Post-apartheid higher education policies have focused on the massification of higher education with an emphasis on democratisation and increased access to previously disadvantaged groups. This mandate has largely been enabled by government subsidised funding. Within this context, this research provides an exploratory overview on the spatial distribution and impact of housing in multiple occupation and purpose-built (and retrofitted) student accommodation in Johannesburg. The growth of housing in multiple occupation or student communes as they are locally known has contributed to various changes in the neighbourhoods surrounding university campuses. Most notably impacting the re-commodification of family homes for the student market. The growth of unregulated housing is, however, the biggest challenge for communities surrounding the university. The lack of regulation and inefficient by-law enforcement from the City of Johannesburg has exacerbated the negative impacts associated with communes. This research also focuses on the growth of the purpose-built and retrofitted student

accommodation market in Johannesburg, which is largely concentrated in the inner-city of Johannesburg. This housing option is often seen as a panacea for solving the challenges associated with housing in multiple occupation. Despite concentrating students away from low density residential areas, challenges of affordability and safety of students becomes evident. Overall, this study contributes to the important knowledge gap and broader debates on aspects of neighbourhood change and studentification in the context of a city located in the global South.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

AFDA – The South African School of Motion Picture Medium and Live Performance

AFHCO – African Housing Company

ANC – African National Congress

APB – Bunting Road Campus

APK – Auckland Park Kingsway Campus

APRA – Auckland Park Residents Association

BCF – Brixton Community Forum

BID – Braamfontein Improvement District

CID – City Improvement District

CoJ – City of Johannesburg

CUPP – Community University Partnership Programme

DHET – Department of Higher Education and Training

DFC – Doornfontein Campus

DoE – Department of Education

HMO – Housing in Multiple Occupation

HIS – International Housing Solutions

ISAF – Inkunzi Student Accommodation Fund

JDA – Johannesburg Development Agency

JMPD – Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department

JSE – Johannesburg Stock Exchange

MRA – Melville Residents Association

NCHE – National Commission on Higher Education

NIMBY – Not in my backyard

NSFAS – National Student Financial Aid Scheme

PBSA – Purpose Built Student Accommodation

RAU – Rand Afrikaans University

REIT – Real Estate Investment Trust

SAPS – South African Police Service

TEFSA – Tertiary Education Fund of South Africa

TVET – Technical and Vocational Education and Training

TWR – Technikon Witwatersrand

UDZ – Urban Development Zone

UJ – University of Johannesburg

WITS – University of the Witwatersrand

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 CONTEXT

Universities are place-embedded institutions that have throughout history shared a strong spatial relationship with their locality (Goddard and Vallance, 2013). For Bender (1988, p. 3) “since their inception [universities] have been identified with cities, sometimes secondary cities, but often those great cities that dominate the political, economic and cultural life of nations”. Hall (1997, p. 301) explains that historically, universities “were urban, not rural-monastic”. In the contemporary world, universities are key urban institutions. They have a significant impact on local and global employment, the built environment, business innovation and the wider society (Goddard and Vallance, 2013).

Historically the university campus is characterised as a self-contained place. Goddard and Vallance (2013, p. 10-11) explain that "a campus not only allows for functional concentration of higher education buildings but also creates a 'semi-cloistered' space in the midst of larger cities, dedicated to meeting the work and leisure requirements of students and academic communities". Indeed, different types of university campuses exist. Some are less enclaved and integrated into the urban fabric. This is particularly the case in smaller university towns. Some universities are located in the inner-city or suburban locales and others are spread across multiple campuses (Hall, 1997).

In the United States of America, universities tend to be enclaved institutions located in both central and suburban locales - with a large proportion of students living on campus (Goddard and Vallance, 2013). In the United Kingdom and across Europe, universities tend to be more centralised in cities. In recent years there has been the expansion of student geographies beyond the university campus. This is seen in the growth of student dominated neighbourhoods close to universities offering housing and various other student-related services (Holton and Riley, 2013; Smith, 2009).

Irrespective of their locale, universities affect the urban environment and its surrounding communities in several ways (Goddard and Vallance, 2013). The relationship between the university and the city is multifaceted with various physical, social, economic and cultural dimensions. For Holley and Harris (2018, p.78) "universities play a major role in the social and economic growth of their cities". Furthermore, universities can play a central role in shaping urban morphology through campus expansion and property development (Goddard and Vallance, 2013). Wiewel and Perry (2008) underscore the role of the global massification of higher education in the late 20th century as important for urban development. This has seen university campuses expanded with new facilities for teaching, research, administration, and student housing. Therefore, contemporary universities act as an important role player in urban development (Wiewel and Perry, 2008).

The economic impact of universities is diverse and often seen as an anchor institution in a local economy. Universities are resilient institutions, they are unlikely to move, to stop operating or contract in size during times of economic downturn and recession. Universities are consumers of labour and are labour intensive organisations. They also help to attract and retain graduate workers in urban and regional labour markets (Goddard and Vallance, 2013). Importantly universities are producers of human capital, knowledge and research - components central to a knowledge-based economy (Holley and Harris, 2018; Power et al., 2010). Universities fuel innovation and can form important linkages with industry, research institutions and can assist governments in research and policy-making (Benneworth and Arbo, 2006; Benneworth and Hospers, 2007; Bercovitz and Feldman, 2006). Furthermore, universities attract visitors, nationally, regionally and internationally for events such as conferences and graduation ceremonies. Lastly, the purchasing power of both university staff and students creates a distinctive housing market with specific consumption requirements (Kemp, 2013).

University staff and students have an impact on the social and cultural dimensions of a city (Russo and Tatjer, 2007). De Conde (1971) argues that universities produce social exclusivity, and this can contribute to class tension and resentment from residents. Similarly, Goddard and Vallance (2013) note that universities and their student population can contribute to social exclusion and spatial segregation in cities. Indeed, universities have a strong influence and impact on the social and political context of

communities. The relationship and impact of universities on local communities are often referred to as "town and gown relations" (Kemp, 2013).

The history of town and gown relations have been documented for centuries (Shepard, 2000). Early accounts of tension and conflict between students and townspeople can be traced back to the 14th century in the university towns of Oxford and Cambridge in the United Kingdom (Pettitt, 1973). Town and gown relations studies the interaction and relationship between the university and local communities (Kemp, 2013). Throughout history, various formal and informal partnerships have existed between universities and local communities to manage the relationship. These partnerships can range from local community associations, community partnerships with universities and other partnerships could involve public, private and non-profit stakeholders. Sungu-Eryilmaz (2013) argues strong community partnerships are needed to mitigate the negative impacts associated with a university and its student population. Beyond these partnerships, Kemp (2013) underscores there is a need for policy from government and local authorities, as well as institutional policies that guide the university-community relationship. For Fox (2014) the presence of higher education institutions presents unique urban planning and management challenges for cities.

The massification of higher education since the 1980s and the subsequent growth of the private student accommodation market outside of the traditional campus setting has changed the patterns of student geographies. The term 'studentification', first coined by Darren Smith in 2002, can be defined as the process of social, cultural, economic and physical changes that occur resulting from the influx of students, usually within privately rented accommodation in particular neighbourhoods close to higher education institutions (Smith, 2002; 2005).

Since the early 2000s, studentification has enjoyed growing research interest mostly within the context of university towns in the United Kingdom (Brennan and Cochrane, 2019; Brookfield, 2019; Holton, 2016; Kallin and Shaw, 2019; Kinton et al., 2016; Smith and Hubbard, 2014; Smith et al., 2014). There has been recognition of this process in other parts of the global north, most notably Western Europe and North America (Boersma et al., 2013; Davison, 2009; Fincher and Shaw, 2009; Foote, 2017; Lager and van Hoven, 2019; Laidley, 2014; Moos et al, 2019; Pickren, 2012; Revington et al., 2018; Woldoff and Weiss, 2018). Limited attention has been focused on studentification in the

global South (Fedha, et al., 2017; He, 2015; Prada, 2019). Some of the research themes that have been investigated over the past two decades link studentification to gentrification and the commodification of student lifestyle (Allison, 2006; Chatterton, 2010; Christie et al., 2002; Holdsworth, 2009; Munro et al., 2009; Russo and Tatjer, 2007; Smith, 2005).

In the South African context, Akoojee and Nkomo (2007, p. 385) note that "increased student access to higher education institutions has been associated with the recent massification of higher education". The post-apartheid government focused higher education policy to transform higher education in South Africa with a strong focus on increased access to students from previously disadvantaged backgrounds (Jansen, 2004). This expansion came with a major backlog in the provision of student housing (Department of Higher Education and Training, 2011). Since the 2000s, the private sector has responded in filling the gap in student housing by providing off-campus housing in neighbourhoods close to higher education institutions (Ackermann and Visser, 2016). Limited research, however, has gone into the impact of studentification on neighbourhood change in the South African context, except for case studies in Bloemfontein and Stellenbosch (Ackermann and Visser, 2016; Benn, 2010; Donaldson et al., 2014; Visser and Kisting, 2019). This said, on the larger metropolitan scale this topic is completely neglected. It is against this backdrop that this research seeks to unpack the socio-spatial impact of studentification in South Africa's largest city, Johannesburg.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT, AIM AND OBJECTIVES

Over the past two decades, South Africa has witnessed the massification of its higher education system. This has seen a dramatic increase in student enrolment across higher education institutions. Despite achieving greater inclusivity, this expansion has led to a severe shortage of university-supplied student housing. Over the past two decades, the private sector has been filling this gap and have supplied both regulated and unregulated private student accommodation. The process of studentification is triggering neighbourhood change in areas close to higher education institutions. In the context of a large urban centre, this topic is completely neglected in South Africa. Therefore, the purpose of this research is to investigate the process of studentification in Johannesburg.

This research broadly aims to address the important knowledge gap of studentification and neighbourhood change in urban South Africa.

This research aims to analyse the process of studentification and its effect on neighbourhood change in Johannesburg. The effects of studentification will be measured by looking at various factors that contribute to neighbourhood change. These include socio-spatial change, economic and social impacts and the extent to which student lifestyle is commodified. This will be achieved through the following research objectives.

- To provide context for the recent growth in South Africa's private student housing sector.
- To provide a broad spatial overview of the size of Johannesburg's private student housing market.
- Exploring the growth and impact of first-wave studentification in the form of housing in multiple occupation in Johannesburg.
- Exploring the growth and impact of second-wave studentification in the form of purpose-built and retrofitted student accommodation in Johannesburg.
- Tracking the various social, spatial, and economic changes and impacts associated with studentification in Johannesburg.
- To determine the extent of student lifestyle commodification in Johannesburg.

1.3 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

A combination of mostly qualitative and some quantitative research methods were employed to answer the research aim and objectives of this research. In December 2017 I attended a methodology workshop organised through the University of Oulu in Finland. This workshop was incredibly informative and introduced me to the concept of situational analysis. The research design and selection of participants for this research was largely informed by an adapted version of situational analysis. Commonly used in grounded theory Clarke et al (2015, p.13) explains situational analysis mapping as the "layout of all the major human, non-human, discursive, historical, symbolic, cultural, political, and other elements in the research situation". Situational analysis mapping also identifies the complexities of the research situation, highlighting relationships between

different elements and helping to interpret social organisation and institutional dimensions (Clarke and Friese, 2007; Clarke et al., 2015). This creative exercise was extremely useful at the early stages of my research design. It helped me to be reflexive in identifying important role-players, as well as the relationship between them involved in the process of studentification in Johannesburg. The following role-players were identified and are illustrated in Figure 1.1.

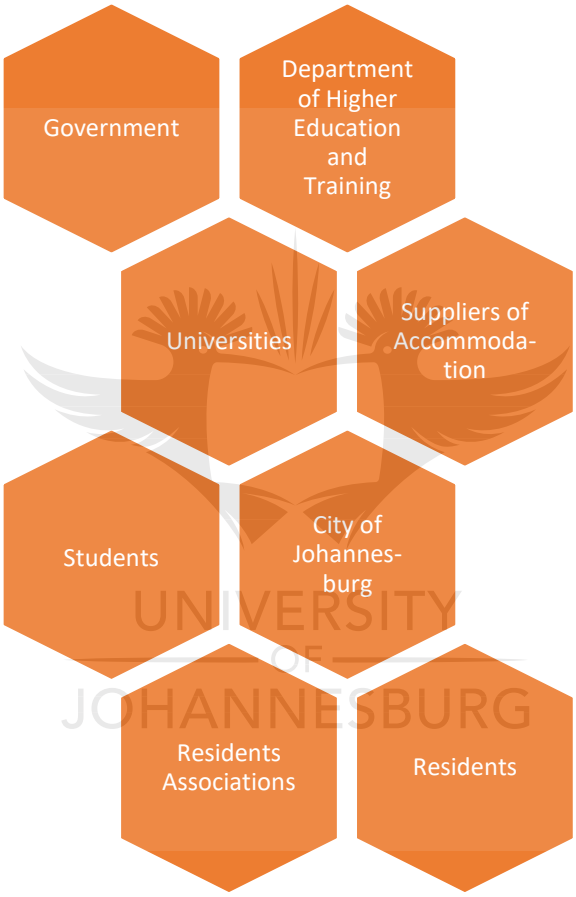

Figure 1.1: Situational analysis (Source: Author)

First, the South African government and the department of higher education and training (DHET) were identified. The post-apartheid government and the DHET have been instrumental in reshaping South Africa's higher education system. The introduction of policies focused on expansion and increased access through funding has seen the massification and democratisation of South Africa's higher education system since the end of apartheid. The second role-player identified was that of universities, and in the case of this study, the University of Johannesburg. Mandated by the DHET policies,

universities have been restructured since the end of apartheid. Under a neoliberal policy framework, universities have increasingly become entrepreneurial. Within this context, several universities, including the University of Johannesburg have minimised their investment in the supply of student services such as housing and have opted to outsource this service to the private sector.

The third role-player identified in the process of studentification includes the suppliers of student accommodation. This also includes real estate and letting agents that act as gatekeepers and contribute to the supply of student accommodation. These suppliers are diverse and range from homeowners who have converted a single property into a student commune, to property developers who have invested in the construction of purpose-built student accommodation. Fourth, the expanded student population is important in the process of studentification, their collective demand actively shapes the supply of student accommodation near the university. The fifth role-player that was identified was the City of Johannesburg (CoJ). The city plays an active role in studentification through its policies and by-laws. In addition, law enforcement is crucial in regulating the impacts associated with studentification. Sixth, resident's associations form an important part of studentification. It is at this level where the impacts associated with studentification are felt most acutely, and it is where the challenges surrounding it are debated and contested. Lastly, residents also play a role in how they respond to studentification. The experiences of residents are diverse, ranging from being welcoming to being resentful towards students.

Several qualitative and quantitative methods were employed to gather data from the various role-players discussed above. This multi-layered use of methods ensures triangulation. For Clifford et al (2016, p. 9) triangulation is "the use of multiple methods or different sources of information to try and maximise an understanding of a research question". Triangulation also helps to consider and compare different perspectives and is useful to confirm findings across multiple methods (Tyrrell, 2016). For Taylor (2016, p.587) it helps to give a "richer understanding of an issue". Refer to Table 1.1 for an overview on the multiple methods used for each set of participants in this research.

Table 1.1: Research design

Participants	**Methods used**
Suppliers of student accommodation	Audit of student housing suppliers Semi-structured interviews Participant observation
Students	Focus groups Survey
Community	Participant observation Semi-structured interviews Social media content analysis
Key informants (e.g., ward councillor, city officials and university representatives)	Semi-structured interviews

(Source: Author).

A range of qualitative and quantitative methods exist in geographical research. The situational analysis helped me to reflect and select the most appropriate research design for this thesis. Four sets of participants were identified as central role-players in the process of studentification in Johannesburg. These include the suppliers of student accommodation, students, the community and other key informants, such as the ward councillor, city and university representatives. Where possible, I selected more than one research method of inquiry for each set of participants. This is to ensure triangulation and that where one method might have certain limitations, the other method would fill that gap to provide a more balanced argument.

I used an audit to determine the size and spatial distribution of the suppliers of student accommodation. This broad overview was complemented by semi-structured interviews, which provided a rich data source. This helped understand the motivations of investors and also illuminated the challenges associated with student accommodation. In addition, the use of participant observation through the attendance of a student accommodation investment conference helped inform the argument surrounding the supply of this housing market in Johannesburg.

A combination of focus groups and a survey were conducted with students. The focus groups were incredibly enlightening and a useful method for conducting research with students. The group setting helped to illicit rich, detailed and often unexpected data from the students. In addition, a survey was used to validate the findings generated from these focus groups. Despite the sizable sample size of the survey, it did not yield any new or interesting data. It simply sought to validate the rich qualitative findings that were generated from the focus groups.

A combination of semi-structured interviews, social media content analysis and participant observation was used to generate data from the community's perspective. The semi-structured interviews with members from various resident's associations who dealt with the challenges related to studentification was most enlightening. These findings were, however, greatly enhanced through social media content analysis of community Facebook groups. During some of the semi-structured interviews it was evident that some community members were hesitant to voice a critical opinion. Observing and analysing social media posts, however, revealed that on this platform, community members were willing to share more honest experiences related to students and student accommodation. Therefore, a combination of both semi-structured interviews and social media content analysis provided a more balanced view on the experience of the community. In addition, participant observation through the attendance of resident's association meetings, spending time walking around these neighbourhoods and documenting my experiences through field notes and photography helped confirm some of the experiences highlighted by the community. Furthermore, several key informants were identified, and semi-structured interviews were selected as the most useful method to collect a deep and detailed account on their views of studentification in Johannesburg.

1.3.1 Research methods and data collection

This section provides a more detailed overview on the selected research methods used in this research. In addition, this section includes the rationale for selecting each of the methods, as well as an outline of the sampling and data collection process.

1.3.1.1 Literature Review

A comprehensive literature review was conducted. For Healy and Healy (2016, p. 44) "undertaking a thorough literature search is a key element in a research project". Badenhorst (2008) underscores the importance of a literature review in helping to situate your research within a conceptual framework. The literature review of this research involved a combination of broad and focused readings to identify various conceptual themes linked to the research topic. This was followed by the sourcing of relevant literature through library catalogues, databases and Google Scholar. The literature was then grouped into various categories dealing with broad, related and narrow themes. For example, broad literature was related to debates in urban theory. Related literature focused on aspects of neighbourhood change or gentrification and narrow literature focused specifically on studentification. The literature review was organised in different styles. The broad review of urban theory with linkages to urban and neighbourhood change followed a chronological approach. Whereas the literature reviewed on gentrification and studentification followed a more thematic and contextual approach. The literature review was continuously updated with the latest and most relevant sources.

1.3.1.2 Sampling method

A non-probability sampling approach was used in this research. This sampling approach is commonly used in qualitative research as it is more subjective and does not necessarily seek representativity, but understanding (Cresswell and Clark, 2011). A combination of convenience, purposive and snowball sampling methods were used in recruiting the participants involved in this research. Convenience sampling draws on participants that are easily accessible, within geographical proximity, and has availability and willingness to participate (Etikan et al., 2016). Purposive sampling, however, draws on participants that suit the purpose of the study. Etikan et al (2016, p. 2) explains that "it is the deliberate choice of a participant due to the qualities that the participant possesses". For Cresswell and Clark (2011) it involves the identification and selection of participants that are proficient and well informed with a phenomenon of interest. In addition, snowball sampling was also used. This popular sampling method uses participants to identify and recruit additional participants through a referral process (Handcock and Gile, 2011; Noy, 2008). Convenience, purposive and snowball sampling methods were used in recruiting

participants involved in the supply of student accommodation, the community, students, as well as other key informants.

1.3.1.3 Participant Observation

Participant observation is an exploratory qualitative method that has its foundation in ethnographic research. Watson and Till (2010, p. 121-122) explains that "within geography, ethnography is a research strategy used to understand how people create and experience their worlds through processes such as place-making, inhabiting social spaces, forging local and transnational networks and decolonising spatial imaginaries". When applied, Laurier (2016, p. 169) explains that participant observation "involves participation in and observation of places, practices and people". It therefore requires recording observations, this is often through extensive field notes, visual records such as photographs, videos or mapping and informal conversations with people (Watson and Till, 2010). In recent years ethnographic or participant observation research have been extended to virtual or online communities. Social media in particular offers new ways in which "participants navigate their wider social, material and technological world" (Postill and Pink, 2012, p. 123).

At the early stages of the research process in 2017 I attended two community meetings. These included a meeting with the Auckland Park Resident's Association and the Melville Resident's Association. Both meetings were extremely informative in helping to understand the challenges and opportunities associated with student housing. It also highlighted various community initiatives linked to mitigating the impact of student housing in both communities. During both meetings I played the role of observer taking down field notes, this was followed by informal discussions around the topic of student housing. The field notes and informal discussions helped inform the themes of discussion in the semi-structured interviews with other community members conducted at a later stage. In October 2019 I attended the Affordable Student Accommodation Conference in Sandton, Johannesburg. This was an industry conference with a focus on investment in student housing. The attendance of this conference enabled me to interact with various investors and suppliers of student accommodation to discuss the various opportunities and challenges associated with this housing market.

I also joined several community Facebook groups. I would regularly follow discussions related to students and student housing and made notes about the key themes emerging from these discussions. These observations were incredibly insightful and many of the comments were recorded for content analysis, which will be discussed later. Lastly, a considerable amount of time was spent walking around areas such as Auckland Park, Melville and Braamfontein documenting my observations through field notes and photography.

1.3.1.4 Audit of suppliers

An audit was conducted to create a dataset documenting the total number of private student accommodation suppliers in Johannesburg. The University of Johannesburg and the University of the Witwatersrand has a detailed list of accredited private suppliers of student accommodation that is updated annually. Lists dating from 2017, 2018, 2019 and 2020 were used to inform the dataset. Furthermore, an internet-mediated search for suppliers of private student housing was used to cross-reference the lists and to add suppliers not listed by the universities. The suppliers were split between different types of student housing and the information was recorded on Microsoft Excel. The first list focused on housing in multiple occupation, or student communes as they are known in South Africa. The second list focused on purpose-built and retrofitted student accommodation. Both lists document the geographical location of each supplier along with the capacity for student bed-space. The analysis of this dataset offered a broad overview on the size and scope of this housing market. It also helped map the spatial distribution of private student accommodation suppliers in Johannesburg.

1.3.1.5 Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were used to obtain information and a deeper understanding of studentification in Johannesburg from various role-players. Semi-structured interviews are one of the most widely used qualitative methods (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). Longhurst (2016) defines semi-structured interviews as a verbal interaction between an interviewer and interviewee along with a predetermined list of open-ended questions or themes of discussion. Dunn (2005, p. 80) explains that “this form of interviewing has some degree of predetermined order but still ensures flexibility in the way issues are addressed by the informant”. Kitchin and Tate (2000, p. 213) state that "the interview

allows for a more thorough examination of experiences, feelings or opinions that closed questions could never hope to capture".

A combination of purposive and snowball sampling was used to recruit participants and several key informants were selected to be interviewed for this research. On the supply-side of student accommodation, seven suppliers and two real estate agents specialising in the greater Auckland Park region and the head of private student housing at the University of Johannesburg were interviewed. To inform the impact of studentification, eight community members involved with the Auckland Park Resident's Association, Brixton Community Forum, and the Melville Resident's Association were interviewed. The councillor for ward 87 was also interviewed, as well as the chairperson from the City of Johannesburg's Department of Development Planning, and the Braamfontein Improvement District Manager. In total 21 semi-structured interviews were conducted with key informants.

A list of pre-determined questions or topics of discussion were developed for each set of participants. These questions or discussion themes were only a guide to keep the conversation on topic. Therefore, a great deal of flexibility was allowed. A total of 30 broad questions were used as a guide with the interviews conducted with the suppliers of student accommodation. Amongst some of the questions were focused on investment motivation for entering this market, locational factors for student accommodation development, as well as the impact and challenges associated with this housing market.

The interviews with community members were based on twenty broad questions that guided the conversation. These questions mostly focused on community perceptions of student accommodation, changes within the neighbourhood and a strong focus on the economic, social and physical impacts associated with student accommodation. The interviews with other key informants were tailored to the specific role or position of the individual. For example, the interview questions with the ward councillor and the representative from the City of Johannesburg were more focused on how the city is regulating and managing the impacts associated with this housing market. The interview with the head of private student accommodation at the University of Johannesburg focused on the role of the university in studentification, its supplier accreditation process and how the institution is managing the impacts of student accommodation.

A lot of the broad questions for each group of participants did overlap, with a strong focus on aspects of urban and neighbourhood change and the impacts associated with studentification. All of the interviews were conducted in person and on average lasted between 40 to 50 minutes. A point of data saturation was reached, particularly the interviews conducted with suppliers of student accommodation and community members. After several interviews dominant themes started to emerge.

1.3.1.6 Focus Groups

Several focus groups were conducted with students residing in private student accommodation in Johannesburg. Focus groups have their origin in market research but have increasingly become popular in academic research since the 1990s (Longhurst, 2016). A focus group usually consists of a group of between 6-12 participants and can last between one to two hours. The facilitator introduces certain themes or topics of discussion but remains largely non-directive to allow the group to discuss and explore the topic (Morgan, 1996). Longhurst (2016) suggests that the participants of a focus group need to be homogenous, as they will feel more comfortable talking to each other on certain topics. Setting a comfortable environment is equally important. A neutral, non-threatening environment is crucial, and it is worth offering drinks and food as a way of relaxing participants. One of the biggest benefits associated with a focus group is it is possible to gather the opinions of a larger number of people in a short period of time (Stewart and Shamdasani, 2014).

Eight focus groups were conducted with students residing in private student accommodation. A combination of purposive, convenience and snowball sampling was used in selecting student participants. Furthermore, two student assistants were used to recruit student participants. The focus group sizes ranged between 6-10 students and in most cases an equal representation of both male and female students were present. The average length of each focus group was around 60 minutes. The themes for discussion included, but were not limited to, locational choice, affordability, access to services, exposure to crime and student safety, student lifestyle and partying, and their relationship with non-student neighbours. The focus groups were split among students residing in specific neighbourhoods across Johannesburg. These neighbourhoods include Auckland Park, Braamfontein, Brixton, Hursthill, Johannesburg inner-city, Melville, and Westdene. The focus groups were conducted at a venue at the Department of Geography,

Environmental Management and Energy Studies at the University of Johannesburg's Auckland Park Kingsway Campus. To create a comfortable environment for the students, lunch and drinks were provided. In the case of Braamfontein, two focus groups were conducted. One group with students from the University of Johannesburg and the other group with students from the University of the Witwatersrand. It was important to get the perspective of students from the University of the Witwatersrand, due to the location of Wits in Braamfontein and to document the role Wits students play in this popular student district. The rest of the focus groups were conducted with students from the University of Johannesburg, who mostly reside in the residential areas surrounding the University of Johannesburg's Auckland Park Kingsway Campus. One focus group was conducted with students residing in the inner city of Johannesburg.

These focus groups produced a rich tapestry of enlightening and sometimes unexpected data on the lived experiences of students. As the researcher I guided the topics for discussion, but ultimately, I would let the students run with the conversation. The focus group setting provided a safe environment in which students felt comfortable in sharing their experiences. The group dynamic also helped students to share their experiences more confidently and ensured consensus on certain topics. It also provided scope for contradictory statements and individual voices to be heard. It was important for the students to trust me. I was conscious of my positionality and the power dynamic as a university lecturer. Therefore, I was careful not to interject, and only gave prompts to keep the conversation on topic. Overall, this method proved quite successful in capturing the lived experiences of the student participants.

1.3.1.7 Survey

A survey was conducted with students from the University of Johannesburg to expand and confirm some of the rich qualitative findings generated from the focus groups. Survey research is useful to obtain information about the characteristics, behaviours, and attitudes of a population, usually through a standardised questionnaire (McLafferty, 2016). The survey design is important, questions must be developed that link with the objectives of the research, but at the same time, it must be easily understandable for respondents (McGuirk and O'Neill, 2016). McLafferty (2016) suggests that questions should be clear and easily understandable. Therefore, cautioning against the use of leading questions, complex phrases or jargon and technical terms. The questions can be

a combination of open ended or close ended or fixed response questions, such as checklists, categories, a likert scale or simple yes/no answers. Pre-testing or a pilot test is important to reveal possible flaws with the questionnaire design. The sampling method for a survey must be clearly defined and can include purposive, random or snowball sampling. The sample size should be large enough to give a reasonably accurate statistical representation of the data. Surveys can be conducted face-to-face through interviews, or it can be self-administered. The use of telephonic and online platforms has become a popular way to distribute surveys in recent decades. Some of the limitations associated with survey research is that it can be expensive and time consuming to administer. It also often lacks detail, richness and personal viewpoints of respondents (Kitchin and Tate, 2000; McGuirk and O'Neill, 2016; McLafferty, 2016).

Following a pre-test on a small group of students, a survey with 371 students was conducted in 2018. A combination of purposive and convenience sampling was used to select student participants and two student assistants helped to distribute the questionnaires to students at the University of Johannesburg's Auckland Park Kingsway Campus. The questionnaire design focused on similar themes discussed in the focus groups. The questionnaire comprised of two sections and 22 questions. Section A captured the demographic details of the students and section B broadly focused on off-campus student accommodation and student lifestyle. A combination of open-ended and close-ended questions were asked. Some of the questions were linked to the type of housing students prefer, locational choice, access to services, safety, affordability and the benefits and challenges of living off-campus. Students were approached during lunchtime at the student centre. On average students would spend between five to ten minutes to complete the questionnaire. Refer to Annexure C for a copy of the survey questionnaire. With the assistance of the University of Johannesburg's statistical analysis department (Statkon) the data was captured on Microsoft Excel and a descriptive statistical analysis was conducted. The aim of this survey was to confirm the qualitative data that emerged from the focus groups and to strengthen the reliability of the data. The survey did have some limitations, it was found that students would rush the completion of the questionnaire, resulting in superficial responses. Therefore, the results of this survey do not form a major part of the analysis, but rather seeks to validate the rich qualitative data obtained from the focus groups.

1.3.1.8 Social Media Content Analysis

Content analysis of posts and comments related to students and student housing on community Facebook groups offers a rich data source on the impact of students and student housing. The internet and information technologies have proliferated since the 1990s. This produces vast amounts of 'big data' and user-generated data on various platforms such as social media (Poorthuis et al., 2016). Kitchin (2014) refers to this as the 'data revolution', with massive amounts of new kinds of digital data becoming available for research. The advantages associated with this type of data is it is relatively easy to gather and process, as it is produced and collected in real-time. It offers access to geotagged location, date and time of posts, the profile of users, as well as textual and graphic content. With a strong focus on spatial, temporal and textual data, digital social media data can provide insight on a particular phenomenon.

Crang and Mohamed (2016, p. 280) explore research in virtual communities through online platforms such as Facebook, WhatsApp and Instagram and explain, "social networking sites can span vast distances but are also deeply involved in shaping interaction and community in place. 'Real' world physical communities are now often subtended and enabled by online media". Thus, virtual communities such as Facebook groups can reinforce real-world community sentiment and shared engagements with local places. Kozinets (2015) refers to this method as 'netnography', which is essentially conducting ethnography on the internet and social media. It is, however, important to note that people's postings on social media are influenced by context and choice over self-disclosure and self-censorship. One drawback is it offers only a selective representation and excludes those who do not have access to these technologies, thus these methods must be grounded with other methods of inquiry. Research using social media content also involves some ethical considerations. Analysing public posts is easy but the people who have posted information are not always aware of their visibility, privacy settings and their exposure (Crang and Mohamed, 2016; Poorthuis et al., 2016).

In addition to participant observation, content analysis of three Facebook groups was conducted over a period of five years from 2013-2017 and included the, "*I love Melville*", "*I love Westdene*" and the "*Brixton Community Group*". These three Facebook groups were selected as they were the most active in discussing issues related to students and student housing. The search function in these Facebook groups enables users to retrieve posts

and comments related to certain keywords. The following keywords were used to retrieve posts for analysis; 'students', 'university', 'student housing', and 'commune'. These keywords revealed hundreds of posts and comments. These posts and comments were copied and pasted into a Microsoft Excel Spreadsheet, recording the content, name of the page and year of publication. For ethical consideration, the names and personal details of individuals were not captured. The use of social media content provided an additional perspective on the impact of student housing on communities. It was found that during the semi-structured interviews community participants would be cautious in divulging negative opinions about students and student housing. The social media content, however, revealed a much broader range of opinions, ranging from extremely negative to more positive views on the impact of students on local communities.

1.3.2 Data analysis

The various methods discussed above have been organised and analysed using coding. Coding is an analytical exercise of organising and analysing qualitative data. It involves an iterative process to organise and analyse data to identify trends and themes out of data. The coding process can involve two types of materials, these include, pre-existing documents, such as literature, archival material, policy documents and self-generated material, for example, transcribed interviews (Cope and Kurtz, 2016). The use of ATLAS.ti (version 8) qualitative analysis software helped me to thematically code the findings of this research. This coding process helped me to identify categories, patterns, similarities, differences, associations, and relationships within the data. The process also enabled me to develop more abstract themes that link to the conceptual framework of this research. Two forms of analysis are popular during the write up of qualitative themes. The first is a narrative analysis, which is interpretative, approaching themes from a storytelling perspective. The second is discourse analysis which allows the researcher to examine how themes are framed, justified and contested (Silverman, 2011). A combination of both narrative and discourse analysis was used to provide a rich description and theoretical exploration of this research topic. In addition, the data generated from the survey was also coded, captured an analysed in Microsoft Excel to generate descriptive statistics.

These results were woven into qualitative results to confirm and complement the qualitative data.

The findings chapters of this research follow a case study approach to present the data. Case studies are a useful approach as it is characterised by multiple data collection methods and can draw on a range of theoretical perspectives to gain an in-depth understanding of a particular phenomenon (Taylor, 2016). Cresswell (2007, p. 73) argues that "case study research is a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information". Taylor (2016, p. 594) further explains "case studies are good for generating in-depth interpretations of complex systems of meanings positioned within their unique socio-cultural context". For Yin (2014) case studies are characterised as explanatory, descriptive and exploratory - offering an interpretive perspective on a particular phenomenon. Stake (1995) explains that case studies are bounded spatially and temporally, and this is important in urban geographical research. Therefore, a case study approach was used in each of the findings chapter to provide an in-depth and exploratory overview of studentification in Johannesburg.

1.3.3 Ethical considerations

Several ethical considerations were taken during this research. Ethical research is important as it protects the rights of the participants as well as the communities and environment in which the research is conducted. Trust is an important component in ethical research, and it can take some time for the researcher to gain the trust of their participants (Dowling, 2016). For Hay (2016, p. 30) "ethical research is carried out by thoughtful, informed and reflexive geographers". Reflexive research acknowledges that participants and places deserve to be treated with integrity, justice, and respect.

The research design employed was after much reflection on the most appropriate methods of inquiry for each set of participants. Furthermore, this research has gone through the University of Johannesburg's ethics committee, and ethical clearance was granted. Informed consent was given by all participants involved in this research. Before

each interview or focus group, the purpose of the research and what the information will be used for was discussed, and the anonymity of all participants was ensured. No personal details such as names were recorded, but rather their role in the process of studentification. Informed consent was digitally recorded before the start of an interview or focus group. The participants in this research are not from vulnerable communities and the nature of the topic is not sensitive. A considerable amount of time was spent in the study area and it was important to have a rapport with students and the communities affected by studentification.

Reflection on positionality and power within the research process was also important (Rose, 1997). McDowell (1992, p. 409) underscores "we must recognise and take into account our own position, as well as that of our research participants, and write this into our research practice". As a white male and a university lecturer it was important for me to understand the unequal power relationship that existed between me and the predominantly black student participants of this research. In order to bridge this gap, two student assistants were appointed to help me source and gain the trust of the student participants. I also spent a lot of time talking to students informally, this helped me to gain a better understanding of current trends in fashion, music and student neologisms. This interest in students helped me to form a connection with the student participants, and this greatly enriched the focus group experience.

My positionality with other key informants, suppliers of student accommodation and community participants was different. Assuming the role of researcher and using my connection with the university and my knowledge of the area was incredibly useful in connecting with local community representatives. The use of social media content was carefully captured with the personal details of individuals omitted. Refer to Annexure D and E for ethics approval and informed consent.

1.4 ORGANISATION AND STRUCTURE

This thesis is organised into seven chapters, including the introductory chapter. Chapter two offers an overview of the conceptual framework of this study and chapter three a literature review on studentification. Chapter four provides context on studentification

in South Africa, whilst chapters five and six draws on the empirical findings of this research to explore the process of studentification in Johannesburg. Chapter seven offers concluding remarks with linkages to literature and recommendations for future research.

The review of urban theory related to neighbourhood change in chapter two offers a conceptual framework for this thesis. The urban process of studentification shares many characteristics with other forms of neighbourhood change, most notably gentrification. Therefore, this chapter is structured in two parts. The first, a chronological review of urban theory with a focus on linkages to urban and neighbourhood change. This review ranges from perspectives of the Chicago School in the early 20th century to more recent postmodern and postcolonial urban theory. The second part of this chapter offers a review of the key debates on gentrification. Themes of particular focus include a discussion on the supply and demand-side debates, as well as the impacts associated with gentrification. Lastly, this chapter ends with a discussion on gentrification beyond the West and in South Africa.

Chapter three positions studentification as an emerging form of urban and neighbourhood change. This is achieved through a comprehensive literature review focusing on key debates in studentification. The following literature themes are discussed in this chapter. First, defining the concept and outlining the conceptual linkages between gentrification and studentification. Second, a discussion on the various types of student housing and the different waves of studentification. Third, a review of the supply and demand-side explanation of studentification. Fourth, the impact of studentification on the urban environment. Lastly, the production of contested social space and the politics of studentification.

Chapter four provides a context for studentification in South Africa. This chapter first offers a review of changes in South Africa's higher education system in the post-apartheid era. The themes discussed include the changes in higher education policy and the subsequent massification of higher education in South Africa. This chapter includes a review of the extant literature on studentification in South Africa. These debates tend to focus on the impact of the process and are limited to case studies in Stellenbosch and Bloemfontein. Lastly, this chapter explores the higher education landscape of Johannesburg. Both the University of Witwatersrand and the University of

Johannesburg's growth and development over several decades are documented, as well as their role in urban and neighbourhood change in Johannesburg.

Chapter 5 explores the impact of first-wave studentification in Johannesburg. This involves housing in multiple occupation or student communes as they are known in South Africa. The residential areas surrounding the University of Johannesburg's Auckland Park Kingsway campus have been susceptible to the impacts associated with this housing type. This chapter outlines three types of student communes, those that are accredited, non-accredited and illegal communes. The investor motivation in student communes is linked to a guaranteed and projectable income, this is largely due to the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS). Suppliers face several challenges, a stringent accreditation process, community resistance to the conversion of properties into communes and the impact of crime.

This chapter also focuses on the student experience. It was found that students are largely motivated to stay at communes based on proximity, safety, and affordability. One of the biggest challenge's students have indicated is the impact of crime. The perspectives of communities on the impact of communes are also unpacked. The biggest challenge for communities is the lack of regulation and poor management of certain communes. This exacerbates the various social, economic, and physical impacts associated with student communes. The conflicting lifestyles of long-term residents and students are evident, with complaints around noise and anti-social behaviour. For some long-term residents, this has contributed to displacement pressure. The negative impacts associated with student communes are also compounded by a lack of city by- law enforcement. Residents associations affected by studentification, have mobilised initiatives to mitigate the negative impacts associated with student communes.

Chapter 6 explores the growth of second-wave studentification in Johannesburg. This includes investment in both purpose-built and retrofitted student accommodation. An audit revealed that there are 48 suppliers of purpose-built and retrofitted student accommodation in Johannesburg, supplying bed-space to 25, 460 students. It was found that most of these suppliers are concentrated in the inner-city of Johannesburg, where 21, 678 students are housed, mostly in retrofitted student accommodation. Overall, few examples of purpose-built student accommodation are evident in Johannesburg. The exception is Auckland Park where there are several purpose-built student developments.

In terms of amenities and services, this housing market offers a packaged lifestyle to students. The monthly rent includes various services, such as internet access, laundry, cleaning services and security. Many students who are channelled into this housing option also benefit from NSFAS.

Affordability is a contentious issue, and many students face a financial shortfall, especially those from more expensive institutions such as the University of Witwatersrand. The experiences of students living in the inner city are diverse, amongst the greatest challenges is the impact of crime, with many students not feeling safe in the inner-city. Proximity is also a challenge and many inner-city students rely on shuttles and other transportation to travel to and from campus. This chapter highlights Braamfontein as a student district and investigates the impact of a concentrated student population in this area. Apart from student housing, the developers and student population has contributed to urban regeneration, retail gentrification and a thriving and sometimes unregulated night-time economy with challenges for urban management.

Finally, the concluding chapter summarises the key findings of this research. In addition, this chapter draws linkages between the empirical findings of this research and the international and local literature. The findings of this research offer several similarities to the international experience, however, the differences are also outlined. This chapter further discusses the limitations of this research and suggests potential topics for future research.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to provide a conceptual framework for this research, which is broadly focused on the dynamics of urban and neighbourhood change. The first half of this chapter offers a chronological review of urban theory with linkages to urban and neighbourhood change. The second half of this chapter focuses specifically on gentrification as a form of neighbourhood change.

Neighbourhoods form one of the smallest scales of urban geographical research (Pacione, 2009). For Petrović et al (2020, p. 1106) "neighbourhoods are inherently fuzzy entities which are difficult to define and to operationalise". As early as 1915 (p. 580), Robert Park defined:

> *The neighbourhood – proximity and neighbourly contact are the basis for the simplest and most elementary form of association with which we have to do in the organisation of city life... In the social and political organisation of the city, it is the smallest local unit.*

Various definitions of 'neighbourhood' have, however, emerged over the past century. For some scholars, the neighbourhood is a spatial entity of physical and symbolic boundaries filled with people (see, Golab, 1982; Keller, 1968; Morris and Hess, 1975). Whilst other scholars define it as a spatial area filled with social organisation, relationships, and social networks (see, Banerjee and Baer, 1984; Downs, 1981; Hallman, 1984; Massey, 1994; Schoenberg, 1979; Warren and Warren, 1984).

With a strong socio-cultural focus, Forrest and Kearns (2001, p. 2130) explain that the neighbourhood has become "an extension of the home for social purposes and hence extremely important in identity… it is important not to see the neighbourhood as just a territorially bounded entity but as a series of overlapping social networks". Kearns and Parkinson (2001) elaborate that the concept of neighbourhood enjoys a particular scale in the urban imagination – it is seen as a place near home, of belonging and community.

Drawing on a political-economic perspective, Galster (2001) argues that the neighbourhood has become a commodity, which is produced and consumed by households, businesses, property owners and local governments. Logan et al (2007) argue that neighbourhoods comprise social, organisational, political and economic processes.

2.2 NEIGHBOURHOOD CHANGE

The dynamics of 'neighbourhood change' have intrigued scholars for more than a century (Betancur and Smith, 2016). Various urban theories have emerged in the disciplines of sociology, urban planning and geography to understand aspects of 'neighbourhood change' (Harding and Blokland, 2014). Several paradigm shifts have impacted how neighbourhood change is understood (Betancur and Smith, 2016).

> *Neighbourhoods are not static entities: they are dynamic places that constantly change in terms of their composition, definition and relationships with the surrounding environment. They are places that are in continual flux as households and individuals move in and out, but also change as the population in-situ changes. Some neighbourhoods change very quickly as the result of single or multiple external shocks (van Ham et al., 2012, p. 4).*

2.2.1 Ecological perspectives on neighbourhood change

Some of the earliest explanations of neighbourhood change can be traced back to the Chicago school of urban sociologists in the 1920s and 1930s (Betancur and Smith, 2016; Temkin and Rohe, 1996). Park, Burgess and McKenzie (1925) borrowed principles from the biological sciences to explain socially complex urban phenomena. Harding and Blokland (2014, p. 24) explain that "urban ecologists used the biological concepts of competition, selection, invasion, succession and dominance to explain two central aspects of urban life: first, how adaptation to urban environments by a city's population is shaped by competition between communities and interests within it; and second, how processes of adaptation, in turn, [changes] the [urban] environment".

For Harding and Blokland (2014) neoclassical economic thinking was also central to the Chicago school of thought. The concepts of economic rationality, equilibrium and profit maximisation were seen to influence social dynamics and the morphology of the urban environment. Some of the most popular theories or models that emerged out of the Chicago school include the invasion and succession model, filtering and border model, racial tipping, neighbourhood lifecycle and neighbourhood revitalisation (Betancur and Smith, 2016; Temkin and Rohe, 1996).

Robert Park (1915) introduced the concept of human ecological theory in an urban context with his seminal paper on the investigation of human behaviour in the urban environment. This paper offers one of the first investigations into understanding neighbourhood dynamics and change. Central to his argument the city is a cultural landscape and social organisation is influenced by divisions in technology, communication, transport, and economic and labour divisions. For Park (1915, p. 6) "personal tastes and convenience, vocational and economic interests infallibly tend to segregate and classify the populations of great cities".

By the 1920s the concept of invasion and succession gained traction. Burgess (1925) developed the concentric zone model of urban land-use. In this model, he explains that cities have original zones of land-use. As the city grows and expands, different forms of land-use invade previous zones and the function of the neighbourhood ultimately changes. Burgess (1925) argues that the expansion of a city acts as a process of neighbourhood change and continuously impacts the economic and social organisation of the city. He further theorised the concepts of social organisation and disorganisation. This involves the division of cities into different economic and social groups with their own cultural and recreational characteristics. Neighbourhood change occurs when the expansion of the city shifts and relocates individuals and groups causing disturbances of social organisation. This can occur by an excessive increase or influx of what Burgess calls a "different group". Therefore, the invasion of one group (for example, immigrants or minority groups) has the effect of a "tidal wave" in dislodging "original" residents who overflow into the next area and are then succeeded by the invading group (Burgess, 1925). Temkin and Rohe (1996, p. 160) summarise the process of invasion and succession as "the competition for space".

Influenced by the invasion and succession model, McKenzie (1923) was interested in the effect of both time and space upon human behaviour in cities. Human institutions and human nature itself become accustomed to certain spatial relationships, therefore a neighbourhood could be an example of a spatial relationship. As spatial relationships change, this produces social and political problems. McKenzie states that a community tends to remain balanced between population and resources until a new element (technology, innovation, or a divergent group) enters to disturb the status quo. No matter the disturbance, there is a tendency towards a new cycle of adjustment (this can either be positive or negative) and linked to either the growth or decline of the community. McKenzie (1923) maintains that the two main contributors to neighbourhood change are different types of land-use and type of occupant. The following table summarises factors which can initiate invasions and ultimately contribute to neighbourhood change.

Table 2.1: Invasions contributing to neighbourhood change

Changes in forms and routes of transportation.
Obsolescence resulting from physical deterioration or changes in use and fashion.
The erection of important public or private structures, buildings, bridges, institutions, which either have attractive or repellent significance.
The introduction of new types of industry, or even a change in the organisation of existing industries.
Changes in the economic base which makes for redistribution of income, thus necessitating a change of residence.
Real-estate promotion creating sudden demands for special location sites.

(Source: adapted from McKenzie, 1923).

Hoyt (1933) introduced the concept of filtering, which reformulated the invasion and succession model. Essentially filtering refers to the process where older housing stock is no longer invested in, and the maintenance cost of older properties becomes more expensive over time. Subsequently, higher-income families opt to move to newer housing stock built on the urban periphery. This process makes older housing stock available to lower-income families (Hoyt, 1933; 1939). Temkin and Rohe (1996) underscore that

social and spatial mobility are inherently intertwined in filtering. It is important to note that filtering is different from the model of invasion and succession. Instead of 'invading' an area, lower-income families simply occupy housing stock that has become available to them. The process of suburbanisation in the United States, especially after the Second World War contributed to the process of filtering (Betancur and Smith, 2016; Hoyt, 1933; Temkin and Rohe, 1996).

The model of racial tipping is seen as an extension of the invasion and succession model. Racial tipping underscores race as a primary cause of neighbourhood change in urban areas. Racial tipping presumes that there is a percentage at which white people are no longer comfortable living in or moving into a racially mixed neighbourhood. The so-called tipping point is presumed to be at 30%, i.e., if a neighbourhood becomes 30% black, this will trigger white flight and the neighbourhood will become predominantly black (Grodzins, 1958; Wolf, 1963). Betancur and Smith (2016), however, states that the racial tipping point percentage is purely based on statistical and demographic analysis of neighbourhoods and it is not clear at what percentage racial tipping will occur.

Undoubtedly the Chicago or ecological school offers the first theoretical explanations on aspects of neighbourhood change, which has sparked over a century of debate. At its core, the Chicago school is classically positivist and largely focused on the quantitative measurement of human behaviour, such as patterns of land-use, migration, and social segregation (Betancur and Smith, 2016; Harding and Blokland, 2014). The Chicago or ecological school are criticised for social Darwinism in applying principles of ecology found in the natural environment to understand complex social dynamics (Harding and Blokland, 2014).

Some of the earliest critics include Alihan (1938) and Firey (1945) who underscored the narrow view of looking at economic and class structures as a basis for theory – instead of emphasising the need to include individual agency and the role of culture in neighbourhood change. Saunders (1986) criticises the use of plant ecology as a basis for studying complex human social interactions. Temkin and Rohe (1996) caution that ecological perspectives on neighbourhood change are devoid of individual agency and promotes racial and minority prejudice. Betancur and Smith (2016) criticise that human ecologists have largely produced an image of a neighbourhood that is stable only when occupied by white middle-class or high-income homeowners. The ecological school has

therefore failed to pay attention to unequal power positions and the role of politics in the way cities are organised and is seen as apologetic towards urban inequality and social segregation (Harding and Blokland, 2014). Despite widespread criticism, it does provide a base from which different theoretical perspectives have emerged.

2.2.2 Humanistic perspectives on neighbourhood change

By the late 1960s growing dissatisfaction with positivism stimulated a shift to behavioural and humanistic approaches to understanding the city (Ley and Samuels, 1978). Humanistic geography offers a post-positivist approach to studying the social complexities of the urban environment (Pocock, 1983). Humanistic geography draws on humanism and is influenced by hermeneutics, phenomenology and existentialism (Ley and Samuels, 1978; Tuan, 1976). Humanistic geography underscores 'human agency', 'meaning' and 'subjectivity' as a lens through which to observe the urban (Harding and Blokland, 2014). For Tuan (1976, p. 226) "humanistic geography achieves an understanding of the human world by studying people's relations with nature, their geographical behaviour as well as their feelings and ideas in regard to space and place". When applied, Harding and Blokland (2014, p. 37) explain that "humanistic geography is primarily associated with research into small localities which traces the relationship between 'place, group and life-world'; that is, how places acquire 'meaning' and the extent to which people's understandings are shaped by the types of places they inhabit and the shared social experiences they have within them".

By the late 1960s, subcultural perspectives on neighbourhood change emerged, which promoted non-economic factors such as social networks, sense of community and symbolism linked to subcultures as contributors to neighbourhood change. The "meaning of place", "attachment to place" or "sense of place" became important in understanding the social complexities of cities (Ley and Samuels, 1978; Pocock, 1983). For Ley (1983) the social geography of cities is influenced by the geographies of everyday life. He underscores the role of culture, values, social group identities and the interlinkages of these with institutions as key to understanding the urban.

The work of urban sociologist Suttles (1968; 1972) is one example that provides a baseline for this shift in thinking. Suttles saw neighbourhoods as a social construction of space where communities attach certain labels and symbolism to neighbourhoods. These social constructions of space offer a sense of community and instil community sentiment, which can either be attractive or repellent. The symbolic labels that are attached to neighbourhoods are also used to differentiate status. Irrespective of economic status, the social construction of a neighbourhood promotes a sense of community, performing an important psychological and social function for community members. It is this attachment to space or community that sparks defence when a neighbourhood is threatened with change. For example, Suttles (1972) underscore the role of ethnic identity in the formation of stable communities. Godfrey (1987) and Stoecker (1994) adds that identity-based subcultures will unite against and defend neighbourhood threats. Fischer's (1975) subcultural theory of urbanism argues that the city is a diverse social system, filled with many distinct subcultures, each with their communities. These communities or sub-cultures are often spatially bound or concentrated in certain neighbourhoods.

Suttles (1972) introduces the concept of the "defended neighbourhood". The defended neighbourhood is conservative when it comes to change and change of any kind is seen as a threat to the very existence of the social system and residents. Defended neighbourhoods are more willing to act collectively to resist change. Unlike the ecological perspective, sub-culturalists do not view neighbourhood decline as inevitable but recognise the fact that it can be fought against through the strength of social networks. It requires neighbourhood organisers to mobilise resources to protect their interests (Pitkin, 2001).

Humanistic geography has been criticised for being abstract and dense, focused on micro-scale inquiries, which are often considered trivial. Furthermore, subjective experiences are prioritised without understanding the underlying forces of influence (Harding and Blokland, 2014). Smith (1981) states that the apparent weakness of humanistic geography is its methodological approach. This is echoed by Pocock (1983) who raises questions of generalisation and the validity of inferences drawn from humanistic inquiry, which tend to make broad and sometimes biased generalisations as much as a positivist

inquiry. Despite criticism, Pocock (1983) acknowledges that although humanistic geography is largely contemplative it can be logically applied to urban research.

2.2.3 Radical perspectives on neighbourhood change

Growing frustration with positivism prompted a political-economic or more radical approach to studying geography in the late 1960s. This shift coincides with certain historical events such as the anti-establishment and civil rights movements of the 1960s in the United States. Overall, it was a period of change across the Western industrialised world, which was undergoing economic transition, deindustrialisation, and changes in social and cultural norms. In part, the shift towards a more radical approach was also in reaction to the crises of capitalism and pockets of inequality and poverty found within Western countries (Johnston and Sidaway, 2016).

It is within this context that a radical approach to studying urban geography became popular, particularly in the West. A growing interest in Marxism became a lens through which to critically understand the urban environment (Harvey, 1973). For Hall (1998) Marxist inquiry is understanding that social and spatial relations are determined or influenced by capitalism as a dominant mode of production. Hubbard (2006, p. 34) notes that "at the heart of Marxist theory is the idea that society is structured by transformations in the political economy and is organised so as to reproduce specific modes of production (i.e., capitalism)". Therefore, Marxist urban theorists attempt to understand the political economy of cities and its impact on social and spatial reproduction. Marxism is, therefore, a distinctive materialist view of society where capitalism shapes political and social life (Smith, 2001).

For Lefebvre (1991) capitalism is geographical - it occupies and produces space. Thus, urban agglomerations are important for the production and reproduction of capitalism. Castells (1977) states that the production of the city is endemic to capitalist society. The dual role of the city is both a unit of production and social reproduction, which is strengthened through the role of labour, class, consumption, and power (Castells, 1977; 1978). Similarly, Harvey (1973) argues that the production of cities is driven by capital accumulation and social reproduction. Harvey (1975) provides a direct link between

capital accumulation and the production of the built environment, which tends to be concentrated and circulated in cities.

One of Harvey's main arguments is that there are different circuits of capital accumulation. The crisis of overaccumulation and essentially economic decline can be averted by switching to different circuits of capital. The primary circuit of capital accumulation is industrial production, and the secondary circuit involves investment in the built environment, real estate, and fixed assets. These different circuits of capital offer alternative investment possibilities – each circuit, however, is prone to over-accumulation and crises (Harvey, 1973). Harvey (1975, p. 13) explains the impact of the secondary circuit of capital on space; "temporal crises in fixed capital investment, often expressed as "long waves" in economic development are therefore usually expressed as periodic re-shaping of the geographic environment to adapt to the needs of further accumulation". For Harvey (1982) the capitalist mode of production results in the reshaping of the geographic environment and produces spatial competition between localities, cities, regions, and nations.

Lefebvre's "urban revolution" sees a global shift to the secondary circuit of capital accumulation, which is focused on fixed assets or real estate. The urban revolution is particularly notable in post-industrial societies (Lefebvre, 2003).

> *I would like to highlight the role played by urbanism and more generally real estate (speculation, construction) in neocapitalist society. Real estate functions as a second sector, a circuit that runs parallel to that of industrial production, which serves the nondurable assets market, or at least those that are less durable than buildings… As the principal circuit - current industrial production begins to slow down, capital shifts to the second sector, real estate (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 159-160).*

The uneven circulation of capital accumulation in cities impacts urban and neighbourhood change. An example of this can be seen most vividly in periods of boom, bust and decline in urban property development (Harvey, 2012). Another example of this is the accumulation of the periphery of cities (i.e., suburbanisation). The process of suburbanisation is often associated with the depreciation and decline of the inner-city. Once the periphery has been accumulated, renewed interest can see the re-accumulation

and return of capital to the inner-city through processes of gentrification and urban regeneration (Harvey, 1989; Smith, 1979). For Smith (1984; 1996) capital constantly seeks new frontiers for accumulation within the urban environment and this leads to the uneven production of space.

Harvey (1973) underscores the role of private property and monopoly rent as central to the capitalist system. For Harvey (1976, p. 277) "the human demand for shelter is turned into a process of accumulation through housing production". Therefore, living space becomes a commodity, which is produced, traded, and consumed. The process of urbanisation has increased opportunities for the appropriation of private property and realising a return on investment through monopoly rent (Harvey, 2012). Furthermore, residential differentiation is important as it creates various housing sub-markets to exploit and realise monopoly rent (Harvey, 1974). Mollenkopf (1981) and Galster (2001) argues that neighbourhoods are spaces for the consumption of housing and other services such as schools and shopping. Neighbourhoods have become commodities and places to be consumed.

Another important component of the capitalist system is the creation of class structures, which often leads to class struggle and conflict. In the urban context, Lefebvre (2003) argues that cities are often sites of struggle and revolution linked to the challenges associated with capitalism. Harvey (1976) explores the relationship between capital, labour, and class struggle within the built environment. The production of living space for different classes in cities have become part of the capitalist system. This creates those who own private property, or appropriate property for rent, and others who simply rely on rent to seek a living space. Conflict arises to protect or enhance standards of living. Examples of conflict amongst others include excessive appropriation of rent, over-speculation, the development of unwanted facilities, lack of accessibility, gentrification, and urban renewal initiatives (Harvey, 1976).

Harvey (1976) argues that economic and political power will determine how certain struggles are resolved. Community action is often in self-interest and property owners know that the value of the savings tied up in their properties depends on the actions of others. It is in their common interest to collectively curb unwanted behaviours and developments and to ensure high standards of public service to protect their investments. This is particularly common in middle-class neighbourhoods. Community control and

resistance can erect barriers to investment and change within the built environment. These barriers may be selective and in self-interest, for example, the resistance to the development of low-income housing (Harvey, 1978). The concept of community has become important for class action and acts as a defensive and offensive weapon in the class struggle. Struggle and conflict at the scale of the neighbourhood can take on various dimensions – for example protecting 'turf', 'community autonomy' and 'NIMBYism' becomes an essential part of life in capitalist society (Harvey, 1989a). It is also important to layer ethnic, religious, and racial tensions on top of class struggle (Harvey, 1978).

Harvey (1973) also explores the hidden mechanisms within the urban system. These hidden mechanisms are usually urban policies that are designed to change or influence the spatial form of the city. Policies linked to urban and neighbourhood change include zoning and land-use policies, which if not challenged can contribute to systemic spatial inequalities within the urban environment. Property developers often tend to promote land-use change to ensure that the current value of the land and housing reflects expected future returns. Developers realise monopoly-rents through the manipulation of zoning decisions. This is usually backed by the support of local authorities (Harvey, 1974).

The 1980s saw the rise of neoliberalism and increased globalisation (Harvey, 1989a). Neoliberalism favoured 'urban entrepreneurialism' and the post-industrial city saw increased investment in private property speculation and widespread urban regeneration initiatives and gentrification (Smith, 1996; 2002). For Harvey (2012) the capital accumulation of urban property markets has gone global since the 1980s. Urban property markets continue to absorb surplus capital but are susceptible to overaccumulation and crisis. International capitalism has undergone a series of regional and global crises and recessions since the 1980s. Most notably the financial crisis of 2008 impacting the housing market in the United States and other northern cities (Harvey, 2012).

Overall, for Hubbard (2006, p. 42) "all urban theory inspired by Marx rests on the idea that urban development can be understood only in relation to the 'bedrock' of capitalism". Neil Smith (2001) states that Marxist geography during the 1970s and 1980s offered a powerful insight into political questions of exploitation, oppression, and injustice. Betancur and Smith (2016) argue a radical perspective on neighbourhood change examines neighbourhoods primarily as a function of capital accumulation and

social reproduction. For Lees et al (2016, p. 71) "amid a harsh, global, financially created economic crisis, the theory of capital switching seems more relevant than ever as a measure for crisis resolution, in the process of capital accumulation".

Marxist or radical geography has been criticised for being structuralist and reductionist with little focus on individual agency (Betancur and Smith, 2016; Hall, 1998; Hubbard, 2006). Early critics include Duncan and Ley (1982) who argue that the status of individuals in shaping the urban environment is neglected in political economy. This is echoed by Hall (1998) who argues that aspects of race, gender and sexual orientation are often overlooked. Despite some criticism, a political-economic approach continues to question issues of power and inequality in the urban environment (Harding and Blokland, 2014).

2.2.4 Postmodern and postcolonial perspectives on neighbourhood change

Post-modernism emerged in the 1980s and was largely influenced by post-structuralism, the cultural turn and by the work of philosophers such as Jacques Derrida's theory on deconstruction (Johnston and Sidaway, 2016). The key tenets of postmodernism are a relativistic position which underscores differences in culture, gender, and sexual orientation. More broadly, postmodernism rejects structuralist metanarratives and grand theories (Barnett, 1998).

Short (2014) argues that cultural differentiation, gender, sexuality, religion, ethnicity, and race are important in shaping the urban environment. Several scholars highlight race as important to understand the systemic racial construction of space (Goldsmith and Randalph 1993; Hirsch, 2009; Marcuse, 1996). Both feminist and queer theory, argues that gender and sexual identity is important in understanding social space in the city (Bell and Valentine, 1995; Binnie, 2004; Dill and Zambrana, 2020).

The work of Soja (1989) on the postmodern geographies of Los Angeles must be noted. The Los Angeles school of postmodern urbanism provides an overview of the characteristics of the postmodern city. Some of these characteristics include a city that is largely influenced by flexible accumulation, is demographically diverse and is also highly fragmented and has a decentralised urban form with multiple commercial centres and

vast suburban sprawl (Dear, 2001; 2003; Scott and Soja, 1998; Soja, 1989). One of the major critiques of postmodernism is its unlimited relativism, with a wide range of possible interpretations (Harvey, 1989b).

Modelled on postmodernism, a postcolonial urban theory is sensitive to the diversity of the urban experience (Robinson, 2006). Postcolonial urban theory challenges the domination of western urban theory and critically engages with the legacies of colonialism (Robinson, 2006). For Roy (2014) the realities of cities beyond the west have been largely neglected, this despite, cities in the global South experiencing rapid urbanisation and becoming the epicentre of urbanism in the 21st century (Parnell and Pieterse, 2014). Roy (2009, p. 820) explains that "the critique of the Euro American hegemony of urban theory is thus not an argument about the inapplicability of the Euro American ideas to the cities of the global south... The concern is with the limited sites at which theoretical production is currently theorised…"

Mabin (2014) calls for 'urban theory from the south'. Similarly, Parnell and Oldfield (2014) argue that a 'southern urban' lens is needed in the 21st century to understand the challenges of southern cities. Cities located in the global South experience a range of challenges linked to rapid urbanisation. These include rural-urban migration, inadequate infrastructure, service delivery, informality, slums, affordability, poverty and inequality. Urban theory from the global North does not often reflect the realities of Southern cities. Robinson (2006), however, introduces the concept of 'ordinary cities', which is an attempt to cut across the theoretical divide between cities located in the West and those located in the global South. She further calls for comparative urban analyses to understand the similarities and differences of cities. In recent years there has been growing interest in 'southern urbanism' (Parnell and Oldfield, 2014). Roy (2009, p. 820) argues and poses an important question:

> *While the twentieth century closed with debate and controversy about the shift from a "Chicago School" of urban sociology to the "Los Angeles School" of postmodern geography, the urban future already lay elsewhere: in the cities of the global South, in cities such as Shanghai, Cairo, Mumbai, Mexico City, Rio de Janeiro, Dakar, and Johannesburg. Can the experiences of these cities reconfigure the theoretical heartland of urban and metropolitan analysis?*

2.3 GENTRIFICATION

The conceptual framework for this research is situated in the broader debates on neighbourhood change, which includes the process of gentrification. Research interests on gentrification draw on a variety of schools of thought, including radical or political-economic, humanistic, postmodern, and postcolonial perspectives to understand this complex urban process (Brown-Saracino, 2010; Lees et al., 2016). Gentrification has emerged as an important process that contributes to understanding urban and neighbourhood change. This section reviews the origins of gentrification, with a focus on defining and understanding how the process has evolved over the past few decades. Both supply and demand-side explanations of gentrification and the various impacts associated with the process are reviewed. Lastly, attention shifts to understanding gentrification beyond the context of the West and in South Africa.

2.3.1 Origins and understanding of gentrification

The term 'gentrification' was first coined and entered academic discourse in 1964 with the publication of Ruth Glass's seminal book; *London: Aspects of Change* (Glass, 1964). In her research she observed the displacement and replacement of long-term working-class residents by the middle-class who had invested and moved into certain working-class neighbourhoods in London. Glass (1964, p. xvii) observed that "once this process of 'gentrification' starts in a district, it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working-class occupiers are displaced, and the whole social character of the district is changed".

Neil Smith (1996), however, traces the process of gentrification back to the middle of the 19th century during the height of European industrialisation. In Paris for example, Georges-Eugène Haussmann's destruction and renovation of the city during the 1850s and 1860s saw much of working-class Paris destroyed. The 'embourgeoisement' or 'Haussmannisation' of Paris saw the creation of the luxury city in pursuit of modernity, this, however, came at the social cost of displacement and removal of the urban poor and the working-class (Smith, 1996). Similar trends of "improvements" or "renovations" were

noted in British cities during the middle to late 19th century (Smith, 1996). Gale (1984) argues that a form of gentrification occurred in the United States of America in parts of New York, New Orleans, Charleston and Washington DC in the late 1930s. It is, however, only after the Second World War and in the industrialised West that the emergence of what would be termed gentrification emerged (Smith, 1998).

Since Ruth Glass coined the term in the 1960s, research on gentrification has flourished in various disciplines, and most notably in urban geography (Atkinson and Bridge, 2005). Neil Smith (1996, p.39), however, argues that the nature of gentrification has changed considerably since Glass's observations in 1960s London. He explains that "gentrification is no longer about a narrow and quixotic oddity in the housing market but has become the leading residential edge of a much larger endeavour: the class remake of the central urban landscape". Smith (1998) argues that gentrification is fundamentally linked to the process of urban economic, political, and geographical restructuring. Similarly, Harvey (2013) notes that the process of gentrification is linked to a change in the circuits of capital accumulation in the urban environment. Thus, gentrification is seen as the return of capital as part of the reinvestment and re-accumulation of the inner-city environment (Smith, 2001).

The process of gentrification is continuously shifting and changing as it adapts to new spatial and temporal contexts. This, however, creates much ambiguity around what the process entails (Lees, et al., 2016). Various other terms have emerged over the past few decades to explain the return of capital into disinvested inner-city environments. For example, Clark (2005) refers to the 'new urban colonialism', akin to a geographical area that must be conquered and controlled. Or the new 'urban frontier', a place to be tamed by courageous explorers (Smith, 1996). It is also seen as a 'back to the city' movement by the middle-class to in revanchist terms 'reclaim the city' (Smith, 1996). The evolving nature of this phenomenon means new interpretations of the process are continuously documented. Thus, the concept of gentrification involves emerging processes of neighbourhood change taking into consideration the different types of socio-spatial transformations that have occurred in many cities around the world (Lees et al., 2016).

The varied types of gentrification include Loretta Lees's (2003) 'super-gentrification' or 'hyper-gentrification' – which sees the transformation of already gentrified middle-class neighbourhoods into much more exclusive and expensive enclaves for a corporate elite.

This process is notable in global cities such as New York, London and Paris. Sharon Zukin (2009) explores urban spaces of spectacle and intensified commodification, which she refers to as 'disneyfication'. Another example of this evolving concept includes 'touristification' which sees the transformation of certain urban neighbourhoods into enclaves for tourist consumption (Gotham, 2005). 'Studentification' is another example of neighbourhood change that sees the in-migration of students as instrumental in changing the socio-spatial structure of neighbourhoods close to higher education institutions (Smith, 2002; 2005).

During much of the 1970s and 1980s debates focused on defining the concept of gentrification (Atkinson, 2003; Rose, 1984; van Criekengen and Decroly, 2003). The difficulty in defining gentrification reveals the complexities of the process, which varies across different spatial and temporal contexts (Clay, 1979). Both Rose (1984) and Beauregard (1986) refers to the "definitional chaos" of gentrification and argues that there should be less focus on an acceptable definition, but rather, a focus on the distinguishable characteristics of gentrification.

Several scholars have over the past few decades explained the process of gentrification chronologically, outlining various steps, waves, or different stages of the process (Lees, 2000). For Clay (1979) there are four steps to the process; first, there are the pioneers, who are often artists or bohemians in search of more affordable living space. As an area continues to become 'trendy', the second step involves attracting developers and investors who capitalise on transforming a neighbourhood for middle-class consumption. The third step sees middle-class interest investing in a gentrifying neighbourhood and then property prices increase. The final and fourth step leads to the middle class being outpriced by business elites.

For Lees (2003), however, there are three main forms of gentrification. First, is the traditional or classic form. This involves individual gentrifiers renovating old housing in disinvested urban neighbourhoods. Second, state-led gentrification enjoys national and local policy support in favour of gentrification initiatives. Third, new-built gentrification includes property development in previously disinvested neighbourhoods for middle-class consumption.

Similarly, Hacksworth and Smith (2001) note that gentrification occurs in waves. The first wave of gentrification can be traced back to the period between the 1950s and early 1970s where state subsidies (in the United States) were deployed to motivate homeowners to regenerate properties in depreciated inner-city neighbourhoods. The second wave of gentrification followed the recession of the early 1970s and continued throughout the 1980s and saw a renewed interest in speculative property development. From the 1990s onwards, third-wave gentrification saw the state play an interventionist role in assisting property developers by removing unnecessary barriers to property development. Hackworth and Smith (2001) note that third-wave gentrification can completely transform neighbourhoods through real-estate speculation. Third-wave gentrification sees the rise of private property developers backed by the local government. Along with this is a network of corporate developers, real estate investment trusts (REITs) and mortgage brokers which has set the stage for 'corporatised gentrification' (Hackworth, 2002).

Overall, Davidson and Lees (2005) summarise the defining characteristics of contemporary gentrification as the reinvestment of capital; social upgrading of a neighbourhood by high-income groups; landscape change; and direct or indirect displacement of low-income groups. Clark (2005, p. 258) offers an expansive definition of gentrification that is not spatially or temporally bound:

> *Gentrification is a process involving a change in the population of land-users such that the new users are of a higher socioeconomic status than the previous users, together with an associated change in the built environment through reinvestment in fixed capital. The greater the difference in socio-economic status, the more noticeable the process, not least because the more powerful the new users are, the more marked will be the change in the built environment. It does not matter where it does not matter when. Any process of change fitting this description is, to my understanding, gentrification.*

Atkinson and Bridge (2005) also note that gentrification is also no longer confined to cities in the global north, but it has been observed globally. With increased political, economic, and cultural globalisation it has moved to rapidly urbanising, post-colonial and post-communist cities (Lees et al., 2016). The globalisation of gentrification is part of the

movement and expansion of capitalism. For Smith (2002, p. 427) gentrification "is densely connected into the circuits of global capital and cultural circulation. A new form of urban colonialism as capital moves from the metropoles of the developed world to other parts of the world". For Harvey (1989a) gentrification has been observed outside northern cities due to travelling neoliberal urban policies favouring incentives for promoting urban renewal and gentrification.

2.3.2 Supply and demand-side explanations of gentrification

To grapple with the definitional chaos of gentrification, many scholars have traditionally studied gentrification from either a supply or demand perspective (Brown-Saracino, 2010). Lees (2000), however, states that both supply and demand explanations have a role to play in the complex geography of gentrification and the one should not take precedence over the other.

The supply-side debate on gentrification is situated within a political-economic perspective on neighbourhood change. Neil Smith (1979, p. 538) argues gentrification is the "movement of capital, not people". Overall, the supply-side argument for gentrification is broadly focused on cycles of disinvestment and reinvestment in inner-city neighbourhoods. Smith (1979, p. 545) explains that gentrification involves "the depreciation and devaluation of capital invested in residential inner-city neighbourhoods. This depreciation produces the objective economic conditions that make a capital revolution (gentrification) a rational market response". Similarly, Brown-Saracino (2010, p. 64) states that "supply-side explanations suggest that economic and political conditions enable gentrification and that in some places and times conditions align to produce the buildings, funding, and state policies required for the gentrification of a particular neighbourhood".

For Logan and Molotch (1987) there are a variety of producers or suppliers responsible for the circulation of capital in cities or what they refer to as the ‘urban growth machine’. Therefore, the ‘urban growth machine’ is a “multifaceted matrix of important social institutions pressing along complementary lines” to achieve growth (i.e., capital accumulation and re-accumulation) (Logan and Molotch, 1987, p. 58). This process of

investment, disinvestment and reinvestment is cyclical and are prone to crises and shifts – these shifts occur in space and impact the geographies of accumulation, thus producing the uneven restructuring of urban space (Harvey, 2013; Smith, 1982; 1996).

Central to Neil Smith's (1979) supply-side argument is the rent gap theory. He postulates that the depreciation of a neighbourhood creates the economic conditions that make capital revaluation (gentrification) a rational market response. It essentially produces what he calls a rent gap. Smith (1979, p. 545) argues "the rent gap is the disparity between the potential ground rent level and the actual ground rent capitalised under present land-use". Therefore, as the rent gap widens, gentrification occurs when a renewed investment will yield a higher return on investment. Smith's (1979) rent gap hypothesis has gained support from various scholars (see, Badcock, 1989; Berry, 1980; Diappi and Bolchi, 2008; Gale, 1979; Harvey, 1989a; Lees, 2003; Peck, 2006). Similarly, these scholars stress that cycles of investment and disinvestment, capital re-accumulation and neoliberal urban policies form part of the gentrification process in post-industrial cities. Smith (1979) also looks towards the classic model of filtering as an explanation for creating the conditions central to gentrification. The use of a neighbourhood, its lifecycle and different stages of decline will determine when an area has depreciated enough to motivate re-investment. Other practices such as redlining by financial institutions play a crucial role in the depreciation of property values in inner-city neighbourhoods. Smith (1979) assumes that the filtering process is a fundamental source for his theory on gentrification.

Overall, Lees et al (2016) argue that gentrification is a device for switching between primary and secondary circuits of capital accumulation in the built environment. Gentrification is also a form of creative destruction of fixed capital assets, in search of new or the next cycle of capital accumulation. Furthermore, gentrification is a class-led appropriation of urban resources, by upper-income social groups with the support of both public and private sector involvement.

Departing from a political-economic perspective, the demand-side explanation of gentrification is focused on consumer demand, class, and cultural preferences (Brown-Saracino, 2010). One of the biggest supporters of the demand-side argument is David Ley (1986; 1996). Ley (1986, p. 521) explains the motivation of gentrifiers as "a pro-urban ethos of changing preferences rejecting the perceived inauthentic homogeneity and

cultural sterility of suburban landscapes… [choosing] proximity to downtown amenity and leisure opportunities". Several scholars (see, Beauregard, 1990; Butler, 1997; Butler and Robson, 2001; 2003; Hamnett, 1991; Rose, 2004; Zukin, 1987) support Ley's argument of a change in cultural preference as the reason why gentrification occurs. Ley's (1996) main argument focuses on broader changes in society and the way it is economically organised. This has changed the way urban space is consumed. Therefore, the post-industrial city has created a 'new middle class', which have been instrumental in reshaping the central city (Ley, 1996).

For Ley (1986; 1996) the taste of the expanding new middle class plays a crucial role in gentrification. The new middle class is distinguishable through their collective taste, which tends to be more pro-urban. Both cultural and economic capital is employed to distinguish themselves. Whilst the concept of 'taste' can be varied, it does influence the spheres of consumption, which involves, food, clothing, media, and locales for living and leisure (Bridge, 2001).

Class distinction is crucial in demand-side explanations of gentrification. Bourdieu's (1979; 1984) concepts of cultural and material capital contribute to the production of space, or to what he refers as 'habitus'. The habitus becomes the urban space where cultural distinction is both produced and reproduced. According to Bridge (2001, p. 92) "the new middle class mark themselves out through a cultural strategy that involves displays of discernment and 'good taste'. This cultural strategy relies on the deployment of cultural capital". This ties in with Bourdieu's concept of habitus. According to Bourdieu (1984, p.170) "habitus is both the ability to produce classifiable practices and works and the capacity to differentiate and appreciate these practices and products (taste) [by which] the represented social world, i.e. the spaces of lifestyles, is constructed". For Bridge (2001) gentrification is the reclassification of inner urban space for the consumption (habitus) of the new middle class.

Over the past few decades, a certain profile of gentrifiers emerged with specific demographic traits. Gentrifiers are often depicted as white, affluent (Yuppies), highly educated, DINKS (double income no kids), gay, creative, childless, etc. While we should caution against generalising specific groups as responsible for gentrification, some of these generalisations hold truth and contribute significantly to gentrification (Brown-Saracino, 2010). Apart from wealthy gentrifiers, Rose (1984; 1996) introduce the concept

of 'marginal gentrifiers' as fractions of the middle class who are in precarious employment and modest earning professionals who have a lot of cultural capital but not necessarily the financial capital to be a major role player in the gentrification process. Examples of marginal gentrifiers include artists, creatives, single parents (single income households), and students.

The motivations for gentrifiers are varied. Some have a taste for the preservation of historical properties and want to access the cultural amenities of living closer to the central parts of a city (Rose, 1984; Zukin, 1987). Some gentrifiers are motivated to have access to social diversity, whilst others want to live near like-minded people ('people like us') or to have access to a 'sense of community' (Brown-Saracino, 2004). Overall, it is hard to distinguish the exact traits of gentrifiers as aspects of class, race, occupation, education, religion and sexual orientation and context of the city play a role in shaping demand. Gentrifiers are demographically diverse and their motivations are varied, and each group of gentrifiers are at risk of being displaced by another group as gentrification advances through its different stages or waves (Brown-Saracino, 2010; Rose, 1984).

Some scholars combine both supply and demand-side explanations of gentrification. Mele (2000) underscores that a taste for an urban lifestyle is important and that a definite demand for such a lifestyle exists, but this is then also packaged and sold to these consumers. Mele (2000) also highlights that it is important to acknowledge the role of real estate developers acting as gatekeepers in shaping the market through various marketing strategies. Similarly, Bridge (2001) underscores the role of real estate agents helping to contribute to gentrification by marketing properties to appeal to certain cultural tastes of the new middle class. For Bridge (2001) real estate agents are instrumental in steering markets and can also be responsible for unethical behaviour such as blockbusting, racial steering, and segregation.

Furthermore, the role of local authorities plays a crucial role in producing a favourable policy environment that shapes both the supply and demand of gentrification. Various city-led initiatives are aimed at 'reclaiming access' to disinvested neighbourhoods. Some of the tools used include preservation of heritage properties, tax incentives for urban renewal and property development, other policies aimed at 'reclaiming space' focus on law enforcement and include drug busts, and various other crime management strategies (Brown-Saracino, 2010). The role of the media, spectators and participants also come

together to perpetuate the "back to the city" movement (Smith, 1996). Thus, it is evident that a broad interplay between both supply and demand and external forces come together to produce a gentrified neighbourhood.

2.3.3. Impact of gentrification

Attention now shifts to the socio-spatial impact of gentrification on the urban environment. Over the past few decades, a considerable amount of research has been produced focusing on the impact of gentrification (Lees et al., 2016). According to Brown-Saracino (2010), there are essentially two main debates on the outcome of gentrification. The first, are scholars who believe that gentrification contributes to socio-economic growth in economically depressed areas and the second are scholars who recognise the socio-economic disruption of gentrification.

For some scholars (see, Atkinson, 2003; 2004; Atkinson and Easthope, 2009; Byrne, 2003; Florida, 2002; Freeman, 2006) the overall revitalisation of the process improves institutions such as schools, reduces crime rates and improves infrastructure. Florida (2002) argues that the return of the creative (middle) class to the inner-city will help 'revitalise' economically depressed areas, which will increase tax revenues, see the rehabilitation of cultural and social amenities and restoration of historic properties. This will filter down to stimulate job creation and contribute to decreased crime rates. Similarly, Freeman (2006) believes that gentrification exposes long term residents to more social connections and economic opportunities than before, as there will be greater contact between different economic classes. Some of the benefits associated with gentrification include increased tax revenues for the city as property values increase, this could stimulate improvement of physical infrastructure. As cities revitalise through place-making strategies and civic boosterism and advance urban tourism (Brown-Saracino, 2010).

Despite the perceived benefits of gentrification, most scholars, however, do recognise the disruption of social and economic networks of long-term residents in areas that are undergoing gentrification. Amongst many scholars (see, Davidson and Lees, 2010; Henig, 1981; Lees, 2000; 2008; 2016; Marcuse, 1986; Perez, 2004; Slater, 2006; 2009; Zukin,

1987) the effects of gentrification not only disrupt social and economic networks but could lead to loss of housing, physical displacement, business closure and class and cultural conflict. For Levy and Cybriwsky (1980) class and cultural conflict between long term and new residents often appear in the early to mid-stages of gentrification. The general upgrade of services and amenities experienced with gentrification only benefits long term residents for a short period, as many will not be able to afford to live in the area and will eventually be displaced. The process of gentrification impacts on social institutions such as churches, schools, and social clubs, which are often linked to ethnic and cultural identity. The long-term residents that are most susceptible to the negative outcomes associated with gentrification include racial and ethnic minorities and the elderly. Gentrification does not only disrupt and change the residential component of neighbourhoods but also commercial space as a shift in retail and entertainment spaces occurs (Bridge, 2001).

Various types of displacement accompany gentrification. Marcuse (1985) offers a comprehensive overview of displacement. 'Direct displacement' involves the physical displacement of a household from a housing unit. This is achieved through evictions, the cutting of services or economically through raising the rent beyond the level of affordability. This is also known as economic displacement. In-direct or 'exclusionary displacement' is when a household is excluded from an area, they would have been able to live. The 'pressure of displacement' or 'displacement pressure' sees rapid changes in the neighbourhood contributing to a feeling that displacement is imminent. This is echoed by Davidson and Lees (2010) who argue that phenomenological displacement lies beyond physical displacement and sees various displacement pressures emerging that challenges and changes the social and cultural way of life of long-term residents. Cooper et al (2020) recognise that under urban neoliberalism, gentrification is accumulation by dispossession.

2.3.4 Gentrification beyond the West and in South Africa

The debates on gentrification discussed above are from the perspective of the global North. It does, however, provide a theoretical baseline for understanding the process of gentrification and its impact on the urban environment. Indeed, the process of

gentrification has travelled beyond the confines of the West. Lees et al (2016, p. 20) argue that "processes of planetary gentrification in cities around the world are producing plural sites of contention as capital accumulation and its spatial fix produce concentrated forms of the urban in historic urban, suburban and rural territories". For Clark (2005, p. 260) "gentrification is now global". With increased globalisation, urbanisation and travelling neoliberal urban policies gentrification has been identified in various cities in the developing world (Lees, 2008; 2014).

Various case studies have emerged from the global south in recent decades that explores the process of gentrification in southern cities. However, many of these case studies identify that the process takes on similar characteristics as gentrification evidenced in the global North (see Garside, 1993; Harris, 2008; He, 2007; Jones and Varley, 1999; López-Morales, 2010; Shin, 2009). For Clark (2005) and Lees (2014), however, one distinguishing factor between gentrification in the global South is that there are higher levels of inequality compared to cities located in the global North. Thus, gentrification can exacerbate extreme socio-economic polarisation in gentrifying areas located in southern cities (López-Morales, 2015).

Lees (2014, p. 509) further distinguishes, "unlike gentrification in the global North, which is associated with post-industrial cities… gentrification in the global South is associated with industrialisation, modernisation and modernity; indeed it is happening in tandem with, not in opposition to suburbanisation". This is echoed by Amin and Thrift (2002) who argue that cities in the developing world are experiencing pre-industrialisation, industrialisation, and post-industrialisation simultaneously – making the context in which gentrification occurs more complicated. Lees (2014) argues that gentrification in the global South is in the form of state-led urban renewal and often new-built developments. Gentrification in the global South also exceeds the neighbourhood scale with urban redevelopment and 'mega gentrification' occurring in some cities (Goldman, 2011; Shin and Kim, 2016). This is in response to the growth of a new middle class and increased consumerism in the developing world. Gentrification in the global South becomes the reshaping of urban space for the needs of the new rich and tourists and is often associated with securitisation and sanitisation of space (Cummings, 2015; Lees et al., 2015). Lees (2012, p.375) also explains the impact and influence of converging tastes and trends re-shaping the urban environment beyond the West and argues "the creation

of a global inner-city aesthetic that will make cities around the world all look and feel the same".

For Harris (2008, p.2423) "rather than exporting Eurocentric understandings of gentrification to the global South we need to learn from 'new sharp-edged forms' of gentrification emerging in the previously peripheral cities of the global South". Lees (2012), draws on Robinson (2006) and argues that post-colonial research on gentrification needs comparative imagination, challenging and decentering reference points of international scholarship. Important is questioning how gentrification is conceived in the global South, how research is to be conducted and unlearning existing and dominant theories that structure our thinking about gentrification (Lees, 2012).

In the South African context, several scholars have been critical of the diffusion of northern neoliberal urban policies. It is argued that these policies are responsible for the market driven urban redevelopment that is shaping urban regeneration and contributing to gentrification in South Africa (see, Donaldson et al., 2013; Massey, 2020; Visser and Kotze, 2008; Winkler, 2009). Teppo and Millstein (2015) criticise post-apartheid urban policies for reproducing class and racial segregation in urban South Africa.

South African gentrification literature is largely concentrated on the experience of the process in Cape Town (see, Kotze and van der Merwe, 2000; Visser and Kotze, 2008; Visser, 2002; 2019). The working-class neighbourhood of Woodstock on the fringe of Cape Town's inner city is one of the first case studies of gentrification in South Africa (Garside, 1993). Woodstock is unique in urban South Africa as it remained racially mixed during apartheid (Wenz, 2012). Since the late 1980s, the role of creatives and creative industries have reshaped and contributed to the renewal and gentrification in Woodstock - leading to the widespread economic displacement of long-term residents and businesses (see, Booyens, 2012; Garside, 1993; Gregory, 2019; Teppo and Millstein, 2015; Wenz, 2012). Furthermore, case studies on the Bo-Kaap, the Malay quarter of Cape Town investigates the impact of gentrification in an ethnic enclave in this city (Donaldson et al., 2013; Kotze, 2013).

Visser (2014) investigates the role of creatives and creative industries contributing to urban and neighbourhood change in South Africa. The impact of creative industries on urban regeneration has also received attention in Johannesburg (see, Gregory, 2016;

2019; Gregory and Rogerson, 2018a; 2018b; Hoogendoorn and Gregory, 2016; Visser, 2014). Overall, limited attention has been paid to gentrification in Johannesburg, South Africa's largest city. Exceptions include Winkler (2009) who offers a critical review of Johannesburg's neoliberal urban policies, Monare et al (2014) investigation of second-wave gentrification in Parkhurst and Ah Goo's (2017; 2018) focus on the displacement of the urban poor and working-class in the inner-city of Johannesburg's Maboneng precinct. Beyond urban South Africa, there has been some focus on rural or small-town gentrification, which is largely tourism-led (Atkinson, 2009; Donaldson, 2007; 2009; 2018).

2.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter aimed to provide a conceptual framework for this thesis. This chapter first sought to provide a historical overview of key debates in urban theory with linkages to urban and neighbourhood change. The Chicago school, despite widespread criticism, provides some of the first investigations into aspects of urban and neighbourhood change. Radical perspectives on neighbourhood change critically engages with how capitalism and investment flows within the urban environment continues to shape and change the urban environment. In an era of increased globalisation and the internationalisation of financial markets, investment flows will continue to shape the urban environment. Humanistic and postmodern inquiry, however, offers a much more nuanced view on aspects of neighbourhood change, focusing on individual agency, and aspects of culture, gender, sexual identity as agents of socio-spatial and neighbourhood change. Urban theory is largely concentrated in the global North and the North American context. Critical urban theory from a post-colonial perspective aims to decentre urban theory to include diverse theorisation of the cities, through the contribution of southern urban theory. Indeed, cities in the global south are experiencing rapid urbanisation, different development trajectories and are faced with different sets of challenges. While theories from the global North can help understand certain urban phenomena, theorising cities of the south is needed.

Since the 1960s gentrification has emerged as a particular form of neighbourhood change. The process sees the investment or flow of the middle class back into dis-invested

neighbourhoods. This movement impacts the urban environment and sees various social, cultural, physical and economic changes. One of the most pronounced impacts is often associated with the displacement of long-term residents (usually the working class or urban poor). There has been widespread debate on defining the process and to explain how the process occurs, therefore still much ambiguity exists. For some scholars, it is the movement of capital, whilst for others, it is changes in consumer demand and tastes that fuels gentrification. Both supply and demand-side explanations of gentrification, however, is important to understand this complex urban process.

The process of gentrification also has its origins in the global North. It was first visible in global cities such as London and New York. Through increased economic and cultural globalisation and the diffusion of neoliberal urban policy, the process has spread beyond the confines of post-industrial cities located in the global North. There is evidence of gentrification globally in post-colonial and post-communist cities. It can be argued that the process unfolds differently in the global South. Cities located in the global South face much higher inequality and urban poverty and gentrification can contribute to producing spaces of polarisation and exclusion.

Gentrification has seen many variations, one of these is the emerging process of studentification. This process sees the in-migration of students contributing to socio-spatial change in neighbourhoods close to higher education institutions. Studentification shares many of the distinguishable characteristics of gentrification, there are, however, also some contradictory characteristics. The following chapter reviews extant literature on studentification.

CHAPTER 3

STUDENTIFICATION

3.1 INTRODUCTION

It is within the broader debates on gentrification that the process of studentification is situated. Some scholars (see, Lees, 2003; Smith and Butler, 2007; Smith and Holt, 2007) argue for an extension of the conceptual meaning of gentrification to include emerging processes of neighbourhood change, such as studentification. The term studentification entered academic discourse in 2002 when Darren Smith examined the growth and impact of private student housing on the social and physical fabric of the university city of Leeds in the United Kingdom. For Smith (2002; 2005) studentification contributes to changes in local housing markets, changes in retail and service offerings and impacts the demographic and socio-cultural composition of neighbourhoods close to higher education institutions.

It is argued that the process of studentification has been stimulated by neoliberalism and the shift to a knowledge-based economy, which has seen the massification of higher education across the United Kingdom since the 1980s (Brennan and Cochrane, 2019; Hubbard, 2009; Smith, 2002; Smith and Hubbard, 2014). The growth of student numbers across many British cities have triggered demand for privately rented accommodation in areas with proximity to higher education institutions. Studentification has become a key process of demographic and spatial change in British towns and cities (Kinton et al., 2018; Mulhearn and Franco, 2018; Smith, 2002; 2005; 2009; Smith et al., 2014).

Studentification is attracting a growing scholarly literature. Currently, most of the research attention relates to the United Kingdom experience (see, Brookfield, 2018; 2019; Brennan and Cochrane, 2019; Holton, 2016; Hubbard, 2008; 2009; Kallin and Shaw, 2019; Kinton et al., 2016; Munro et al., 2009; Reynolds, 2020; Sage et al., 2012a; 2012b; 2013; Smith, 2005; 2008; 2009; Smith and Holt, 2007; Smith and Hubbard, 2014; Smith et al., 2014). There is evidence of growing research interest across much of Europe with published works on Hungary (Fubula et al., 2017), Germany (Miessner, 2020), Ireland (Kenna, 2011), Poland (Grabkowska and Frankowski, 2016; Sokołowicz, 2019),

Portugal (Malet Calvo, 2018), Spain (Garmendia et al., 2012), and The Netherlands (Boersma et al., 2013; Lager and van Hoven, 2019). In North America, studentification research is also on the rise with case studies undertaken both in the United States (Foote, 2017; Laidley, 2014; Pickren, 2012; Woldoff and Weiss, 2018) and Canada (Moos et al, 2019; Revington et al., 2018; 2020; Revington and August, 2020). For the global North, there is also research available for Australia (Davison, 2009; Fincher and Shaw, 2009; Holton and Mouat, 2020), New Zealand (Collins, 2010), Turkey (Tuncer and İslam, 2017) and Israel (Avni and Alfasi, 2018). In the context of the global South, much less scholarship exists about studentification and its impacts. This said, case studies are available for Chile (Prada, 2019), China (Gu and Smith, 2020; He, 2015), Indonesia (Situmorang et al., 2020), Kenya (Fedha, et al. 2017) and South Africa where there is recorded a marked upturn of research around studentification (Ackermann and Visser, 2016; Benn, 2010; Donaldson et al., 2014; Ndimande, 2018; Visser and Kisting, 2019).

This chapter aims to unpack the process of studentification and will focus on a review of both supply and demand-side explanations. The various socio-cultural, economic and physical impacts associated with studentification will also be discussed. Lastly, attention shifts to discuss the contested social space of student geographies and the politics of studentification.

3.2 CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND OF STUDENTIFICATION

The term 'studentification' was coined in 2002 by Darren Smith who studied the spatial concentration of student geographies and their impact on the urban environment. For Smith (2002) the process of studentification produces distinctive "student areas", unique with its own social and cultural features. Smith (2005, p. 74) defines the process as; "studentification engenders the distinct social, cultural, economic and physical transformations within university towns, which are associated with the seasonal in-migration of higher education students". Smith (2005) further states that studentification involves the in-migration of a transient group of individuals at an early life course who are single and childless young adults with limited economic capital and mostly non-participant in the labour market – who seek temporary rental accommodation with limited vested interest or attachment to space. For Woldoff and Weiss (2018, p.4) the

process of "studentification draws on the urban ecological concept of invasion, a process in which one population moves into and transforms a community's culture by changing its demographic, social, economic and political environment. The invasion may happen gradually or rapidly; it can occur across a broad range of geographies, including cities, suburbs and small towns, and in upper middle class as well as poor neighbourhoods".

Throughout the 2000s the term studentification became a buzzword and used in various debates to discuss the impact of students on the urban environment. By the 2010s Smith et al (2014, p.116) explains that "the term studentification [is] employed by geographers, policymakers and media to conceptualise a set of urban changes tied to the residential concentration of students in university towns and cities".

The conceptual background of studentification is situated within broader debates on gentrification and is seen as an emerging form of urban and neighbourhood change. Smith and Holt (2007) argue that the term gentrification has changed significantly since it was first coined by Ruth Glass in 1964. For Lees et al (2016) several emerging and different forms of gentrification and neighbourhood change have occurred in recent decades and increasingly so in the 21st century. Smith and Holt (2007, p. 143) contend that; "student geographies may have significant implications for future forms and expressions of urban transformation, which can be subsumed under the guise of gentrification". Smith and Holt (2007) explain that higher education institutions impact the urban environment contributing to urban and neighbourhood change and argue that a socio-spatial lens of inquiry could illuminate and contribute to understanding urban transformation in the context of higher education and student geographies.

Conceptually, there are parallels between the characteristics and impacts of studentification and gentrification (Moos et al., 2019; Smith, 2005). Much like gentrification, studentification has the potential to stimulate, increase or inflate the property and rental market (Smith, 2005; Smith and Holt, 2007; Smith and Hubbard, 2014). Also, it can contribute to the displacement and replacement of long-term residents, as well as economic activities that do not suit the student market (Nakazawa, 2017; Sage et al 2012a, 2012b). Furthermore, studentification often contributes to a change in the socio-cultural dynamics of a neighbourhood with new spaces of leisure and entertainment increasingly catering to a growing student population (Chatterton, 1999; 2000; 2010; Sage et al., 2013). Lastly, and in contrast to general debates on gentrification,

the process of studentification can lead to the physical downgrading and aesthetic decline of urban spaces (Hubbard, 2008; 2009; Smith, 2002; 2005). Refer to Table 3.1 for a summary of the key conceptual links between studentification and gentrification.

Table 3.1: Conceptual linkages between studentification and gentrification

Economic	*Revalorisation and inflation of property prices.* *Property owners, investors and developers identify the rent gap.* *Recommodification of single-family housing to supply housing for students.* *Restructuring of housing and rental stock for student sub-market.*
Social	*Replacement and displacement of permanent residents with a generally young transient group of students.* *Creates new patterns of social concentration and segregation.*
Cultural	*The concentration of students with a shared culture and distinctive lifestyle and consumption behaviour.*
Physical	*Contradictory to gentrification, there might be an initial upgrade of the physical environment as properties are first converted but can lead to the subsequent downgrading of the physical environment (depending on local context).*

(Source: adapted from Smith, 2005).

Another important theme to note in the extant literature is the commodification of the student lifestyle. Chatterton (1999) argues that it is the commodification of the student lifestyle that stimulates the growth of a student service sector. This includes housing and various other services such as retail and entertainment aimed at students (Chatterton, 1999). For Chatterton (2010) the commodification of student lifestyle can be linked to the neoliberalisation of higher education since the 1980s. In the context of the global North the shift to neoliberalism in the 1980s saw a series of changes in higher education. Universities were expected to become more "entrepreneurial" and less reliant on government funding (Chatterton,1999; 2010). Chatterton (1999) argues that the temporal and spatial framework of universities creates a student population who act as

a distinctive group with a culture and lifestyle demanding specific sites of consumption. It is within this student space or habitus where student lifestyle and group associations are developed and maintained. Indeed, student-lifestyle and the spaces they occupy have become increasingly commodified over the past two decades (Chatterton, 2010; Hubbard, 2008). Chatterton (2010) summarises what he believes is crucial for understanding the relationship between students and the urban environment. First, the creation of studentified areas is an extension of the neoliberlisation of the student lifestyle. Second, this has stimulated the growth for a student service sector (which includes private student housing, retail and leisure services). Third, studentification as commodification has seen new investment opportunities and profit maximisation by property owners and developers and other retail and entertainment service providers who cater to the student market. Fourth, universities are not isolated from the urban context but do play a pivotal role in contributing to urban and neighbourhood change through processes of renewal, gentrification and studentification.

Apart from having an impact on the housing market, the process of studentification also sees changes in retail and entertainment economies in neighbourhoods close to higher education institutions. The night-time economy has become an important part of the student lifestyle. The night-time economy produces space where youthful nightlife is consumed. The growth of the night-time economy, however, poses several challenges linked to public disorder and anti-social behaviour such as drunkenness, violence and vandalism (Chatterton and Hollands, 2002; Hollands, 2002). Chatterton (2010) and Nakazawa (2017) focus on sites of student consumption, linking it back to the conceptual issues surrounding gentrification as these sites of student consumption can lead to exclusion, displacement, segregation and conflict. Chatterton (2010) cautions that commodifying student lifestyle may exclude not only non-students but different groups of students, along lines of social class and income.

3.3 STAGES OF STUDENTIFICATION

Two main types of private student housing can be identified. First, housing in multiple occupation (HMO) are traditional single-family homes that have been converted into shared student housing and form part of what is termed first-wave studentification.

Second, is purpose-built student accommodation (PBSA) these are private residences or apartments constructed specifically for the student market. This also includes the retrofitting of commercial or industrial buildings for student accommodation. Purpose-built and retrofitted student accommodation forms part of the second-wave of studentification, which involves widespread property development speculation.

Student housing in multiple occupation involves small scale property owners or investors who buy or convert single-family homes close to higher education institutions to take advantage of the student market. These investors can be viewed as the 'pioneers' of studentification (Smith, 2005). Smith (2005, p. 74) explains it as "the recommodification of 'single-family' or the repackaging of existing private rented housing, by small-scale institutional actors (e.g., property owners, investors and developers) to produce and supply houses in multiple occupation for higher education students". Smith and Hubbard (2014) note that housing in multiple occupation involves the flow of capital into specific residential neighbourhoods via the acquisition and conversion of owner-occupied family housing for the shared rental housing market (Smith and Hubbard, 2014). Despite housing in multiple occupation being an attractive housing option for many students, its development has caused widespread contention in many neighbourhoods. Many of the negative social impacts associated with studentification are manifest in neighbourhoods with a high percentage of housing in multiple occupation. The lack of regulation and management of this housing type causes widespread community resistance and conflict between long term residents, property owners and student tenants. Quite often housing in multiple occupation sees the conversion of family homes into multiple dwelling units through standardised forms of partitioning and extension, which can compromise architectural integrity and aesthetic appeal of neighbourhoods (Rugg et al., 2002; Sage et al., 2012b). Smith (2005) states that the absence of legalisation and registration and management of housing in multiple occupation could lead to the physical downgrade of the urban environment.

The next stage of studentification sees a shift in the market to speculative property development through the construction of purpose-built student accommodation or the retrofitting of commercial and industrial buildings for student accommodation (Collins, 2010). Sage et al (2012a) refers to the development of this type of housing as second-wave studentification. This type of student housing has become a distinctive and

alternative asset class for corporate investment (Smith and Hubbard, 2014). It attracts corporate investors and shareholders as it is seen as a resilient and recession-proof investment opportunity with potentially high yields, and sustained capital growth (Hubbard, 2009). In university towns and cities property developers are seeking properties or land suitable for the development of purpose-built student accommodation (Hubbard, 2009). Despite being more expensive than housing in multiple occupation this type of housing has emerged as an attractive alternative housing option for students (Sage et al., 2013). Purpose-built student accommodation offers modern architectural design, with additional amenities such as gyms, swimming pools, secure private parking, and security systems in place (Smith and Hubbard, 2014). Hubbard (2009, p. 1907) illustrates that this type of student housing is:

> *Designed to high specifications, most consisting of apartment blocks divided into groups of bedrooms with communal kitchens and lounges; some rooms may be double occupation but are all en-suite. Swipe card access, on-site security staff, and CCTV are standard; many developments have communal areas, launderettes, vending machines, bike sheds; some even boast secure car parking, cafés, gymnasium, or swimming pools. Rents typically include all utilities, personal possession insurance, and broadband internet connection.*

This type of housing is often developed on brownfield sites near inner cities, universities, and public transportation nodes (Sage et al., 2013). There are different types of ownership structures within the purpose-built student accommodation market. First, there are public-private partnerships between higher education institutions and private sector managers. This agreement sees university housing stock shifted to the private sector for infrastructure upgrades and private management. Second, the completely private investment in newly built developments often on brownfield sites near universities or the inner city.

The development of purpose-built student accommodation is seen as a panacea to minimise the negative impacts associated with housing in multiple occupation (Hubbard, 2009). The shift of the student housing market to designated enclaves of purpose-built student accommodation could minimise the challenges and conflict experienced in neighbourhoods with a high percentage of housing in multiple occupation. This is echoed

by Sage et al (2013) who states that purpose-built student accommodation could remedy the negative impacts associated with students in host communities. This type of housing and the redistribution of a student population in enclaves offers a more controlled and regulated environment to contain students. Policymakers view these developments favourably in solving problems associated with shared housing in certain areas (Sage et al., 2013). Sage et al 2013 (p. 2626) states; "PBSA has tended to be uncritically represented as the solution to improving student living standards and remedying the social ills of the 'traditional' studentified urban enclave (i.e. where the over-production of HMOs has instigated urban decline)". For Hubbard (2009) and Sage et al (2013), this type of student housing can be viewed as a packaged lifestyle and compares it to gated communities.

Furthermore, this housing type is also seen as contributing to urban regeneration in other parts of the city, particularly that of brownfield sites (Hubbard, 2009; Sage et al., 2013; Tallon and Bromley, 2004). The advantage of purpose-built student accommodation developed on brownfield sites is that there is the benefit of no existing residential population to be displaced or replaced (Smith and Hubbard, 2014). This type of student housing is being promoted as 'stylish city centre living' – with many developers proclaiming their important role in promoting 'urban renaissance' (Smith and Hubbard, 2014). Furthermore, the growth and concentration of student geographies in purpose-built student accommodation developments can cause 'de-studentification' in areas as student demand for housing options shifts from housing in multiple occupation to newly built housing options (Hubbard, 2009). This is echoed by Sage et al (2012b) who explains that the shift and movement of student housing to a new 'studentification frontier', often purpose-built student accommodation developments on brownfields sites can see the de-studentification of some areas and the return of family occupation.

Despite the benefits associated with purpose-built student accommodation, it has been criticised for intensifying socio-spatial segregation in cities (Munro et al., 2009). The production of purpose-built student enclaves may also deepen socio-spatial divides between students. Sage et al (2013, p. 2628) contend that "PBSA has potentially important implications for deepening extant patterns of socio-spatial segregation along age and class divides". This can see more affluent students channelled into purpose-built student accommodation and less affluent students staying in housing in multiple

occupation or at home. Therefore, diverse student housing offerings can exacerbate exclusion and segregation within the student market (Smith and Hubbard, 2014). Sage et al (2013) also questions the affordability of purpose-built student accommodation for students. The social withdrawal and separation of students into specific districts can forge deep socio-spatial divides, a demographic imbalance, and the creation of age homogenous residential environments.

3.4 SUPPLY AND DEMAND-SIDE EXPLANATIONS OF STUDENTIFICATION

In classic gentrification theory, there are both supply and demand-side explanations. These debates aim to explain who the 'gentrifiers' are and why gentrification occurs. Some of these debates are focused on economic factors (supply-side), whilst others focus on class and cultural taste (demand-side) as important factors underlying the process of gentrification (Brown-Saracino, 2010). Similarly, studentification can be understood from both a supply and demand perspective.

Smith and Hubbard (2014) contend that investors, property developers and other institutional actors are actively involved in shaping student geographies. Similarly, Smith and Holt (2007) underscore that student areas are "manufactured" by both public and private sector institutions. Smith (2005) argues that students are often consumers of "readymade spaces". Therefore, he states that it is more appropriate to consider the institutional actors and suppliers of student accommodation as "studentifiers". A range of stakeholders are involved in the production of studentified space, these include property owners, property developers, investors, universities, local government, and gatekeepers such as letting and real estate agents. Hubbard (2008) supports the notion that multiple stakeholders are involved in the production of studentified space. For Smith and Hubbard (2014) the production of student housing is seen as a new frontier for capital accumulation, with investors seeking new markets for profit realisation within the urban environment. This parallels Chatterton and Holland's (2002) argument that student lifestyle is being commodified, packaged and sold. Chatterton (2010, p.512) explains that "the student has come to represent a monetarised and commodified, as much as an educational persona, presenting opportunities for profit for both local businesses and universities". The student lifestyle has become a lucrative sector for

corporate investors and seen as a stable niche market for rental income, as well as the income derived from the additional services students require (Chatterton, 2010; Hubbard, 2008).

Smith and Holt (2007) maintain that the 'manufacturing' of student areas is linked to investors capitalising on the student market. Smith and Hubbard (2014) note that the production of 'student enclaves' and the commodification of student housing, is seen in the rise of purpose-built student accommodation and a plethora of other service offerings geared towards students. Beyond the supply of housing, Chatterton (2010, p. 511) summarises the growth of the student service sector as "whole swathes of city centres become dedicated to servicing students, especially in terms of retail, entertainment and leisure. Pubs, bars, nightclubs and fast-food and other retail outlets all pitch themselves at this lucrative, sizable and dependable consumer population".

Student housing has become a growing and stable sub-market for property investors. Accordingly, it is essential to understand the economic motivation of these investors in producing studentified space. Smith (2005, p. 74) avers that houses in multiple occupation are viewed as 'first-wave studentification' and defines it as "the recommodification of 'single-family' or the repackaging of existing private rented housing, by small-scale institutional actors (e.g., property owners, investors and developers) to produce and supply houses in multiple occupation for higher education students". From classic gentrification theory Neil Smith's (1979) rent gap is of importance for understanding the process of studentification. It is explained that "the existence of a rent gap between the actual value of single-family housing and the potential value of [student housing] becomes evident. The production of [student housing] and the realisation of long-term rental income from multiple students per annum can be viewed, therefore, as a closure of the rent gap" (Smith 2005, p. 79). This links to the revalorisation or recommodification of housing stock to ensure a greater investment return. Suppliers of student housing achieve a higher return on investment from renting a property to multiple students than to a single-family. Smith (2005) maintains that this is not tied to only areas of devalued housing stock, but also middle- and higher-income areas close to universities. The role of estate agents and letting agents as gatekeepers is also noted as significant as these actors might market properties for their potential to be converted to student housing and appeal to investors. Studentified space stretches beyond the supply

of student housing *per se*. Arguably, it also encompasses "the manufacturing of student areas, [which] enables students to buy into specific types of lifestyles, linked to the consumption of particular forms of accommodation, retail and leisure services" (Smith and Holt, 2007, p. 157). The rise in purpose-built student accommodation development from the mid-2000s across the United Kingdom and other countries can be seen as exemplifying 'manufactured student lifestyle spaces' whereby student housing in (often) gated student enclaves along with a range of other retail and leisure services are produced.

The role that students play in the process of studentification is not, however, a passive one. Students seek neighbourhoods that fit with student lifestyle and their collective consumption habits. Indeed, their collective taste and lifestyle choices contribute to and shape studentified space (Smith, 2005). Students are seen as early or marginal gentrifiers with limited economic capital albeit possessing cultural capital to form group identity which sets them apart from broader society (Smith and Holt, 2007). Studentified space has become the 'learning space' for acquiring aspiring middle class cultural (and eventually) economic capital; thus, studentified spaces have become important for new middle-class formation. Studentified spaces are the gateway to achieving professional status, a crucial component for gentrification to occur (Hubbard, 2009; Smith and Holt, 2007). Early accounts of the impact of students in gentrification include the work of Ley (1996) who outlined historical events such as the baby boomers reaching college age in the United States during the 1960s and the movement of broader society into higher education as a crucial component for gentrification to occur in decades to follow. Mills (1988) identifies housing being converted in the 1960s by artists, hippies, students and transients celebrating communal and counter-cultural lifestyles. Rose (1984) highlights the pioneering role of students as part of a 'marginal' group of gentrifiers. Ley (1996) maintains that the impact of youth has been scarcely discussed in gentrification. Ley (2003, p. 2542) explains that "spaces of higher education and studenthood are the nursery for acquiring cultural capital". In Australia, Davison (2009) explains that the phenomenon of gentrification is intricately linked to the post-war expansion of higher education within inner-city neighbourhoods close to universities.

Smith and Holt (2007) underscore that students and other marginal or apprentice gentrifiers assume a dual role of (re)producing and consuming of urban space. In their

decision-making students are motivated to reside in different areas with varying forms of housing options and dependent on affordability, personality and taste (Sage et al., 2012a, 2012b). It is argued that some students prefer to live in private accommodation, especially houses in multiple occupation, as it allows them to reside with people of their choice and with friends ("people like us"). Widespread investment interest and supply of student housing results in high levels of residential mobility for some students as there are various housing options and neighbourhoods to choose from. Specific cohorts of students will have distinctive housing and neighbourhood preferences. Some shunning or gravitating to specific neighbourhoods. Sage et al (2012b) also note a change in student taste and preferences in expectations of the quality of student housing, especially with the rise in purpose-built student accommodation. Other motivations for wanting to live in such accommodation are the desire for an independent student lifestyle. Students often cluster in areas that are already perceived as 'student areas' where they would enjoy access to various retail, services and spaces for entertainment that cater specifically to a student lifestyle. Rental costs and safety considerations are also isolated as important issues for students when choosing a specific location. In some cases, students opt for cheaper locations, despite a bad reputation of crime and safety; in such cases, cost and affordability become the main motivation (Hubbard, 2009; Sage et al., 2012a; 2012b; Smith, 2002).

Smith (2002) observes that students at different levels of study can be motivated to seek different types of accommodation. According to Smith and Holt (2007), first-year students prefer university-managed residences which are seen as a safe and supportive space, a coping strategy as students transition into becoming more independent. These university-managed spaces of accommodation further provide access to peers at the same life stage. It is during this time that students are consolidating group associations. They learn studenthood and student habitus which are reproduced through patterns of behaviour and consumption and expression of cultural capital. From the second and third year, however, students often opt for different types of student housing. The move to the private rented housing sector becomes more popular with students sharing housing with co-residents of choice. Motivations include more independent lifestyle, the freedom to undertake particular forms of behaviour in less regulated spaces, and proximity to cultural and entertainment facilities.

3.5 IMPACT OF STUDENTIFICATION

The process of studentification produces several social, economic, cultural and physical impacts on the urban environment. Studentification is also associated with the concentration of a student population in certain areas, therefore the process contributes to social segregation and the widening of socio-spatial polarisation. It also contributes to the displacement and replacement of different social groups within urban areas (Nakazawa, 2017; Smith, 2005; Smith and Holt, 2007). This can stimulate tension between different social classes and age groups and contributes to contested public and private space. This is seen in the rise of community-level political action against the influx of students (Smith, 2005). Smith (2008) notes that like gentrification, studentification undermines the (re)production and maintenance of sustainable and balanced communities and the process can lead to mono-cultural or unbalanced communities. The following table provides a summary of the various impacts associated with studentification.

Table 3.2: Impacts associated with studentification

Social	*Demographics of the local population.* *Population density.* *Change from stable to a transient population.* *Social cohesion.* *Neighbourliness.* *Attachment to a sense of place.* *Supply and demand for schools and other social services.* *Supply and demand for public transport.* *Trends in criminal activities.* *Crime prevention strategies.* *Voting and political affiliations.* *Levels of alcohol and drug abuse.*
Economic	*Supply and demand for housing.* *The buoyancy of the housing market.* *Portfolio and flexibility of housing stock.*

	Supply and demand for affordable housing. *Condition of housing stock.* *Purchasing power in the local economy.* *Levels of inward capital investment.* *Supply and demand for services of letting / real estate agents, property maintenance and building contractors.* *Supply and demand for retail, leisure and recreational services.* *Seasonality of the local economy.* *Levels of housing abandonment.* *Levels of council tax revenue.* *Local workforce.*
Cultural	*Supply and demand for specific leisure, recreational and retail facilities.* *Levels of anti-social behaviour.* *Levels of noise nuisance.* *Incompatibility of lifestyles.*
Physical	*Levels of private vehicle use, cycling, walking.* *Levels of traffic congestion.* *Levels of visual pollution.* *Effectiveness of refuge and waste collection.* *Levels of litter and rubbish.* *Upkeep of drive-ways and gardens and external environment.* *Levels of graffiti and vandalism.*

(Source: adapted from Smith and Holt, 2007).

A variety of social and cultural impacts are associated with the process of studentification. The in-migration of students into neighbourhoods close to higher education institutions changes the demographic composition of the local population. Therefore, studentification contributes to an overall change in the local age profile, household and family structures and social class composition of a neighbourhood (Sage et al., 2012b). The influx of students is marked by changes in the population density of neighbourhoods. This is due to the nature of shared housing options and the development of purpose-built student accommodation (Sage et al., 2012b; Sage et al., 2013). The increase of a student population is often seen as disruptive to the social cohesion of existing communities.

Long-term residents tend to view students as a transient population group with no, or very little vested interest in the community (Hubbard, 2008). It has been argued that students do not form the same sense of attachment to space as long-term residents (Hubbard, 2009). For many long-term residents, this transition can lead to a decline in a sense of community.

For some long-term residents, the process of studentification disrupts social cohesion and can lead to the notion of unbalanced communities (Hubbard, 2008). Sage et al (2012a) explores the social disruption, which can lead to conflict rooted in class and age differences with many long-term residents showcasing an 'anti-student' sentiment. It is often the lifestyle choices and anti-social behaviour of students that contribute to conflict and resentment. For Weiss (2013) studentification is a source of conflict because of students 'party culture'. Woldoff and Weiss (2018) state that students can act as a source of 'community disorder'. The increased tension between long term residents and students creates a loss of neighbourliness and long-term social networks. Smith et al (2014), however, argues that the process of studentification contributes to the formation of a new "sense of place" through the production of a distinctive "student area". This can create a feeling of dispossession amongst existing residents. Contributing to what Marcuse (1985) calls "displacement pressure".

Beyond the disruption of social cohesion and networks of long-term residents, studentification also has the potential to alter the supply and demand for schools and other social services. The demographic shift towards a predominant student population sees the decline or loss of family-oriented services such as schools, churches and other social services (Sage et al., 2012b; Smith, 2009). Whilst some family orientated social services may be lost during the process of studentification, it also has the potential to stimulate the development of other essential services needed in communities, such as expanded retail services and better public transportation networks. Sage et al (2012a) found in areas that were marginalised before, studentification has a positive impact on upgrading access to retail services and improved public transportation links. Despite the overwhelming negative social impacts associated with studentification, some argue students contribute to the 'social vibrancy' of neighbourhoods (Long, 2016). Sage et al (2012a) note that studentification can contribute to the social diversification of declining

urban areas. For Smith (2009) students contribute to enhanced cultural vibrancy associated with the 'student buzz'.

Attention now shifts to the economic impacts associated with studentification. Student housing has become a distinctive sub-market in neighbourhoods close to higher education institutions (Smith and Hubbard, 2014). Therefore, impacting the supply and demand for housing in these neighbourhoods. The presence of a higher education institution often leads to an over-inflation of property values and rental rates in the surrounding neighbourhoods (Cortes, 2004). Property owners and investors of student housing benefit from the increased value and rental potential, however, it does have the impact of excluding and displacing lower-income residents, the working class, first time home buyers, and non-student tenants (Davidson and Lees, 2005; Sage et al., 2013; Smith and Hubbard, 2014). Furthermore, studentification results in less owner-occupied properties (Hubbard, 2008; Sage et al., 2013). Sage et al (2012a) argue that student housing can be disruptive and deepen housing inequalities. It is important to note that not all economic displacement is negative as some households sell their properties to take advantage of the inflated property values and can be seen as a form of 'voluntary departure' (Smith, 2005).

Beyond the housing market, the process of studentification also impacts the broader economy of neighbourhoods. It stimulates the transformation of local retail services and produces space for student recreation and entertainment (Allison, 2006; Smith, 2005). Similarly, Cortes (2004) notes that students have purchasing power and will support certain types of retail services. This is echoed by Smith (2009), who outlines the advantages of studentification, which can lead to increased spending power in local economies, higher demand for private and public services and the revalorisation of housing. Furthermore, studentification has an impact on the local workforce and stimulates the supply for ancillary services linked to the supply of student housing such as letting, real estate agents, property maintenance and building contractors (Smith et al., 2014).

In some neighbourhoods close to higher education institutions and especially in smaller university towns there is the risk of an over-dependence on the student market. Hubbard (2008) explains that the impacts of studentification are more pronounced in smaller university towns or cities, whose economy largely depends on the existence of the

university and the purchasing power of students. In towns and cities where the university is the main employer or contributor to the economy attitudes might be more favourable towards students and in some cases defines the social character of the town (Hubbard, 2008). Studentification can prevent depopulation and maintain the economic viability of certain towns and cities. An over-dependence on a student market, however, is susceptible to the seasonality of student spending. Hubbard (2008, p. 328) explains that "some local residential and business communities may regard universities as a vital source of income and job creation, others claim universities have a parasitic relationship with the local community".

Lastly, studentification has a physical impact on urban morphology and can signal the physical downgrading of the urban environment (Smith and Holt, 2007). In the context of housing in multiple occupation it is often associated with a cheap and standardised conversion of family homes, changing the character of the home and the aesthetic appeal of neighbourhoods (Smith et al., 2014). There is a common perception that student houses are poorly kept, but this is largely due to absentee landlords (Hubbard, 2008). There are various secondary impacts associated with studentification, increased refuse, litter, and parking congestion. These secondary impacts transform the visual appearance and aesthetic appeal of the streetscape in residential environments (Sage et al., 2012b; Smith et al., 2014). The various impacts associated with studentification have produced contested space in the urban environment. Various actors, most notably communities have organised themselves to resist or attempt to improve the regulation of student housing.

3.6. THE POLITICS OF STUDENTIFICATION

Over the past two decades, studentification has stimulated debate amongst various stakeholders, including community organisations, private sector and local authorities to understand and manage the impact of private student housing (Smith, 2005). Most of the research focused on the politics of studentification stems from the United Kingdom (see, Hubbard, 2008; Smith, 2005; 2008; Smith et al., 2014). There are, however, a few case studies documented elsewhere in the United States (Steinacker, 2005; Woldoff and Weiss, 2018) and Australia (Fincher, 2004). In the United Kingdom, the politics of

studentification have been debated at a national, regional and local level. It is, however, at the local or urban level that the issues surrounding studentification are mostly debated (Smith and Holt, 2007).

The rapid expansion of higher education in the United Kingdom did not provide the initial policy environment for local authorities to manage the exponential growth in private student housing (Smith, 2008). A lack of regulation for housing in multiple occupation ensued and this was largely due to the absence of a legislative framework which would require the recording, monitoring and licensing of housing in multiple occupation. Within this initial unregulated environment, the conversion and production of housing in multiple occupation was allowed to proliferate in unregulated ways, causing widespread frustration amongst affected communities (Smith, 2008).

It is within this context that existing resident's associations or specific lobby groups mobilised against the social and physical disorder of unregulated student housing (Brookfield, 2018). Hubbard (2008) underscores the presence of resident's groups as active participants in the politics of studentification. Whilst some long-term residents have moved away due to the displacement pressure of studentification, others have organised themselves for collective resistance (Brookfield, 2018). Various campaigns have been established to lobby against the negative impacts associated with studentification. These lobby groups tend to advocate for increased legislated regulation of student housing in the United Kingdom and are challenging existing planning and housing legislation (Smith, 2008; Smith et al., 2014). One of the main arguments is that the uncontrolled or unregulated student housing sector produces unbalanced communities (Hubbard, 2008; Smith, 2008). Hubbard (2006) however, argues that anti-student NIMBYism feeds the deep-rooted fear of "the other".

The conflicting lifestyles of students and long-term residents are often viewed as detrimental to social and cultural cohesion in certain communities (Smith, 2005). For Smith and Holt (2007) studentification segregates groups based on lifestyle, life-course and differing levels of economic class. Therefore, studentification contributes to both intra and inter-class and intergenerational conflict over space. This results in contested social space and stimulates conflict over both public and private space (Smith, 2008). Smith (2008) cautions not to demonise students as perpetrators of studentification as they also experience the challenges associated with unregulated student housing. Thus,

students could stand to benefit from increased regulation and management of housing. The lack of policy in regulating student housing casts universities and students into a negative light, which is often reinforced by negative media reporting (Smith, 2008).

From the mid-2000s increased regulation has been introduced in the United Kingdom, outlining minimum standards of management at private student accommodation. There has, however, been a lack of uptake by owners of housing in multiple occupation due to the stringent application process (Smith, 2008). One strategy, some local authorities have tried was the promotion of designated areas for student housing – thus scripted spatialisation of students and have put restraints on student housing outside of these designated areas (Smith, 2008).

Students rarely participate in local politics and rarely have their voices heard in debates surrounding housing policy (Hubbard, 2008). There is a lack of consideration of how to better integrate students into local communities. Students are often assumed to be separate and temporary and rarely described as an asset for communities, they are regarded as temporary and not part of a community (Hubbard, 2008). Various initiatives in the United Kingdom have emerged to improve this relationship. An example of this is the Community University Partnership Programme (CUPP) at the University of Sussex (Sage et al 2012a).

Overall, Smith (2008) calls for effective implementation, monitoring and mandatory licensing and landlord accreditation. There is also the need for accommodation bureaus to govern standards of housing management. Current policy tends to focus on the impact of housing in multiple occupation. Purpose-built student accommodation is not receiving the same level of policy and legislative attention (Smith et al., 2014).

3.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter aimed to provide an overview of the literature on studentification. This process is seen as a form of neighbourhood change and is conceptually situated within gentrification. Since the early 2000s studentification has enjoyed growing research interest. Most case studies, however, document the experience of the United Kingdom, followed by case studies in other cities across Europe, the United States and Australia. In

the context of the global South, this topic has received limited attention. In South Africa, however, over the past ten years, there has been evidence of growing research interest on this topic.

This chapter outlined that the process of studentification occurs in stages. First, housing in multiple occupation or first-wave studentification sees the recommodification and conversion of single-family homes into shared housing for students. As the market matures, second-wave studentification ensues in the form of purpose-built studentification. This stage sees the widespread development of new-built or purpose-built student accommodation. The retrofitting of commercial and industrial buildings into student accommodation also forms part of this stage. This shift in supply can stimulate de-studentification in certain areas, especially those with high numbers of housing in multiple occupation.

Each of these student housing types and stages of studentification presents unique urban challenges. Housing in multiple occupation is often characterised by an over-inflated housing and rental market. Despite the revalorisation of the property market, it can be characterised by the aesthetic decline of a neighbourhood. It is within housing in multiple occupation where tension and conflict between students and non-student neighbours are most rife. The concentration of student geographies and their lifestyle can contribute to conflict within communities. This is largely due to the conflicting lifestyles of students and non-student neighbours. The development of purpose-built student accommodation is often seen as a panacea for solving the problems associated with housing in multiple occupation. Purpose-built student accommodation, however, has been criticised for segregating students into specific enclaves akin to gated communities. Thus, producing mono-cultural spaces within cities. These types of developments also raise important questions about affordability as many students may be excluded from this housing option, which is often marketed towards more affluent students.

Much like gentrification, studentification can be understood from both a supply and demand perspective. Various stakeholders, such as universities, investors, developers and realtors actively shape the geographies of students through the production of studentified space. The role of students, however, are not passive as they do have purchasing power and consumer preferences.

This chapter outlined the various impacts of studentification, which contribute to various economic and socio-cultural changes in neighbourhoods located close to higher education institutions. Quite often the impact of student housing, especially housing in multiple occupation is seen as disruptive. The potential conflict of student geographies has become increasingly contested and politicised. Thus, student geographies can be sites of contested social space. This review revealed that both institutional and urban policies have an important role to play in effectively managing the student-community relationship.

CHAPTER 4

STUDENTIFICATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter seeks to review studentification in the context of South Africa. This will include a review of recent historical changes in South Africa's higher education system. This is followed by a review of local scholarly debates on the process and impact of studentification in South Africa. Lastly, this chapter provides context of the higher education landscape in Johannesburg which forms part of the study area of this research.

In the South African context "increased student access to higher education institutions has been associated with the recent massification of higher education" (Akoojee and Nkomo, 2007, p. 385). This shift towards greater student intake in South Africa forms part of a global trend of the neoliberalisation of higher education since the 1980s (Maasen and Cloete, 2004). The release of the Education White Paper of 1997 envisaged the transformation of higher education in South Africa. Since then, higher education institutions have experienced a rapid intake of students, mostly from previously excluded and disadvantaged backgrounds. This has helped to redress inequality and contribute to the overall socio-economic transformation of South Africa (Akoojee and Nkomo, 2007; Jansen, 2004; Kraak, 2000).

The massification of higher education has impacted the supply of student housing in South Africa. In a report on the provision of student housing, the minister of higher education, Dr. B.E. Nzimande acknowledged that there is a lack of student housing. The minister stated, "it was glaring apparent to me that student housing was a major problem in our public university system and that something needed to be done" (Department of Higher Education and Training, 2011, p. XI). The report continues to confirm that there are major backlogs in the provision of student accommodation. It acknowledges that private sector providers could play a vital role in filling the gap for the provision of affordable student accommodation. Despite this the report also stresses that private student accommodation is unregulated, allowing widespread exploitation of students (Department of Higher Education and Training, 2011).

Since the release of this report, it is evident that the private sector responded and has been providing student housing off-campus in neighbourhoods close to higher education institutions across South Africa. Africa Property News (2015, p. 1) reports that "student housing has become a very attractive vocation for the private sector given the severe shortage of it". Despite increased investment interest, limited research explores the impact of studentification on urban and neighbourhood change in the South African context.

4.2 POST-APARTHEID CHANGES IN SOUTH AFRICA'S HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM

Bunting (2006, p. 52) explains that "under apartheid, higher education in South Africa was skewed in ways to entrench the power and privilege of the ruling white minority". The aim of the apartheid regime was a society underpinned by racial segregation. This was to be achieved through separate development and the creation of "self-governing" Bantustans or homelands for different black ethnic groups (Bozalek and Boughey, 2012). This meant that South Africa's higher education system was segregated and geographically fragmented along lines of race (Jansen, 2004). By 1985, most higher education institutions (totalling 19) were dedicated for the exclusive use of a white minority population. For the Coloured and Indian population groups there were four dedicated institutions (two for each population group). For the majority of the population, black people were restricted to 13 institutions, most of which were located in the Bantustans (Bunting, 2006). Akoojee and Nkomo (2007, p. 389) note that "it is self-evident that during the apartheid period, university access for black people did not feature as a necessary or appropriate policy option in the same way and degree accorded to white access".

After the fall of the apartheid regime in 1994, it became an urgent imperative for South Africa's higher education system to be transformed. It became evident that greater inclusivity could only be achieved through massification (Akoojee and Nkomo, 2007; Jansen, 2004; Kraak, 2000). According to Akoojee and Nkomo (2007) providing increased access and financing to previously excluded and disadvantaged students became a key component to the transformation of higher education in South Africa. For Kraak (2000), however, the South African higher education system has been impacted by two broad

processes. The first being globalisation, following international trends of neoliberalisation and massification. The second, democratisation, which affords increased access to a more diverse student body and to those specifically from previously disadvantaged groups. These processes are largely in response to South Africa's shift towards a more knowledge-based economy and to become more globally competitive.

Post-apartheid transformation seeks to redress decades of racial discrimination and unequal access to higher education (Akoojee and Nkomo, 2007). Following the demise of the apartheid regime, a National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE) was established in 1996 and released a detailed report on how South Africa's higher education system would be transformed. The NCHE reported that higher education in South Africa should focus on objectives of economic and social growth and should be structured to cater for a significant increase in the number of people seeking higher education, with a definite emphasis on providing the machinery for increased access (Development Bank of Southern Africa, 2010a; 2010b). According to Cloete (2004, p. 59), "the central proposal of the NCHE was that South African higher education should be massified. Massification was the first policy proposal that attempted to resolve the equity-development tension since increased participation was supposed to provide greater opportunity for access (equity) while also producing high-level skills that were necessary for economic growth".

The NCHE report was subsequently reworked into the White Paper for Higher Education and the Higher Education Act released in 1997. The White Paper for Higher Education specifically highlighted the inequitable distribution of access and opportunity along lines of race, gender, class and geography, with a focus on increasing access to previously discriminated groups and the deracialisation of higher education in South Africa (Cloete, 2004; Development Bank of Southern Africa, 2010a; 2010b; Jansen, 2004). Cloete (2004) states that the late 1990s were characterised by reviewing South Africa's higher education system and putting new policies in place. It is only post-1999 that policy implementation began to change higher education in South Africa (Christie, 2006).

In 2001 the DHET released the National Plan for Higher Education, which outlined a strategy to reduce the number of public higher education institutions through several mergers, which were approved by 2003 (Jansen, 2004). The mergers effectively reduced 36 universities, technikons and colleges of education to 23 institutions. Three new

institutions have been created since increasing the number to 26 (Davids and Waghid, 2016). During apartheid, many universities had relative institutional autonomy, the post-apartheid government, however, has taken a more interventionist role to meet the objectives of transformation. Jansen (2004, p. 297) explains that "in a short period of time, the government had intervened quite directly in higher education institutions, both to restore order in organisation but also to require compliance with a new regime of academic regulations".

Jansen (2004) records that from 1993-1999 black student enrolment increased by 80% and notes that the majority of black student enrolment has been at historically white higher education institutions. He points to the role of expanded financial aid and relief from debt in providing increased access to higher education. According to Bunting (2004) post-apartheid policies on higher education also stimulated competition amongst institutions to increase their student intake and notes that "institutional competitiveness was fuelled by the fact that government funding of higher education was, and still is, based largely on student numbers and that the institutional landscape was thus influenced by the size and shape of student enrolments" (Bunting, 2004, p. 95). Since the end of apartheid in 1994, higher education student enrolment has doubled, increasing from 495, 356 students in 1994 to 975, 837 students in 2016 at public higher education institutions and an additional 167, 408 at private higher education institutions (DHET, 2018; Presidency, 2014) According to the DHET (2018) the National Development Plan has set a target to increase the number of student enrolment to 1.6 million by 2030.

Funding and financial aid has been central to massification and the democratisation of South Africa's higher education system (Naidoo and McKay, 2018). The establishment of the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) has been instrumental in achieving the mandate for increased access to higher education (Jackson, 2002). The NCHE (1996) indicated that the NSFAS should be a funding scheme focused on principles of equity, redress and democratisation of access to higher education, particularly to students from previously disadvantaged backgrounds. Prior to the establishment of the NSFAS, in 1991 the Tertiary Education Fund of South Africa (TEFSA) was established as a non-profit company to administer a national scheme for student bursaries and loans. Following the first democratic elections in 1994 the then Department of Education (DoE) established the NSFAS as a mechanism to ensure capable students from poor and disadvantaged

backgrounds are not excluded in accessing higher education. In 1995 TEFSA was asked to administer NSFAS. It is only by 1999 that the NSFAS was formally established and in 2000 TEFSA was reconstituted as NSFAS (Council on Higher Education, 2004). The NSFAS "functions as an income-contingent loan and bursary scheme - i.e., loan recipients only start repayments once they are in employment and earning above a threshold level of income" (Council on Higher Education, 2004 p. 194).

Since its establishment, the NSFAS has worked in partnership with financial aid offices at higher education institutions across South Africa. It allocates funding to institutions in terms of a formula that considers the number of students and cost of study at the respective institution. Since its establishment funding for students from previously disadvantaged backgrounds has increased steadily. In 1991, 7, 240 students had access to funding through TEFSA, by 2002 and under the newly reconstituted NSFAS this figure had increased to 99, 873 (Council on Higher Education, 2004). By 2016 the number of students that qualified for NSFAS reached 481, 507 (NSFAS, 2018). The latest annual report of the NSFAS indicated that with a budget of R16.4 billion in 2018, 604, 114 students received funding from the scheme (NSFAS, 2019).

One of the current challenges involved with higher education in South Africa is the cost of tuition fees, which have been prohibitive for many poor and working-class students (Sader and Gabela, 2017). Despite the roll out of NSFAS, Davids and Waghid (2016) notes that protests against rising tuition fees have been a regular occurrence at some institutions since the 1990s, but it is only in 2015 and 2016 with the 'Fees Must Fall' movement that it became a nationwide protest against the rising cost of tuition and lack of affordable accommodation (Booysen, 2016). Towards the end of 2017, the African National Congress (ANC) government announced its plans for 'free education', which came into effect in January 2018. In a press release the department of higher education and training (DHET, 2018) announced that free education will only benefit first-year students from 2018 who are from poor or working-class families earning less than R350 000 per annum. From 2018 NSFAS qualifying first year students will see the conversion of loans into full bursaries. The DHET (2018, p. 2-3) further stated that "providing full bursaries for tuition and study materials to qualifying poor and working class South African students at public Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) colleges and universities, and subsidised accommodation and transport capped

at specific levels for those who qualify, starting with first time entry students in 2018, and phased in over a period of 5 years". Muller (2018), however, questions whether free education will truly benefit the poor and working-class students as many are still facing a financial shortfall. Whilst funding schemes such as the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) do pay for or partly subsidise the cost of accommodation for poor and working-class students, they are often faced with a financial shortfall, particularly at more expensive institutions and cities (Sader and Gabela, 2017). President Cyril Ramaphosa recognised the shortage of affordable student housing in his state of the nation address in 2020 and stated that "some [students] don't even have places to sleep after lectures and resort to sleeping in libraries. We are going to spend R64 billion over the next years in student accommodation and will leverage at least another R64 billion in private investment. These building projects are ready to start" (South African Government, 2020). Despite the risk of student protest, the funding model of NSFAS and other bursaries subsiding and paying for student's accommodation makes it attractive for private sector investors as it is a projectable and guaranteed income.

4.3 STUDENTIFICATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Limited research has explored the impact of studentification on urban change in the South African context (Ackermann and Visser, 2016). Some attention, however, has been paid to the impact of studentification in the secondary city of Stellenbosch and Bloemfontein, the capital city of the Free State province (see, Ackermann and Visser, 2016; Benn, 2010; Donaldson et al, 2014; Visser and Kisting, 2019). Benn (2010) provides the first analysis of studentification in the South African context and examines the impact of student housing in residential areas located near Stellenbosch University. Benn (2010) records similar trends as experienced in cities located in the global North where studentification and in particular housing in multiple occupation contributes to negative social, physical, and cultural changes within residential areas. Both Stellenbosch University and the University of Free State in Bloemfontein are historically white Afrikaner institutions whose student numbers like many institutions across South Africa have doubled over the past 25 years. Both institutions have been under pressure for increased access and transformation. In Stellenbosch and Bloemfontein, a shortage of

university supplied housing has pushed students into the private student housing market in surrounding residential areas. This process of studentification recorded in Stellenbosch and Bloemfontein is characterised by houses in multiple occupation and has impacted predominantly former white middle-class residential areas (Ackermann and Visser, 2016; Donaldson et al., 2014; Visser and Kisting, 2019).

In the case of Stellenbosch, it was found that studentification has contributed to the fundamental spatial transformation of the city. Donaldson et al (2014) records the negative socio-cultural and physical impacts associated with the process. These include noise pollution, increased density and traffic and loss of neighbourhood character. Furthermore, the conversion of properties into student housing has negatively impacted heritage properties. In Stellenbosch, studentification has contributed to an inflated property market, therefore excluding lower-middle and middle-class buyers from the market. Overall, there is lack of regulation from the university and local authorities to mitigate the negative impacts associated with studentification (Donaldson et al, 2014).

In Bloemfontein, Ackermann and Visser (2016) provides an overview on the spatial distribution of housing in multiple occupation and documents the various economic, socio-cultural and physical impacts associated with studentification. Overall, the process of studentification has been linked to the general or physical decline of residential areas making it less attractive for middle-class residents. There is, however, the recognition that students do contribute to the local economy as many retail and service offerings are reliant on or have altered their offerings to capture the student market. In both Stellenbosch and Bloemfontein, it was noted that greater regulation and policies are needed to mitigate the impacts of studentification (Ackermann and Visser, 2016; Donaldson et al., 2014).

In recent years there has been a shift towards purpose-built student accommodation suppliers in residential and inner-city areas surrounding higher education institutions across South Africa (Ackermann and Visser, 2016; Visser and Kisting, 2019). According to Ackerman and Visser (2016), houses in multiple occupation have been a popular student housing option in the past but notes that there is increasingly the growth of purpose-built student accommodation providers. Ackermann and Visser (2016, p. 9) state that "[Purpose built student accommodation] franchises have, in the recent past,

surged in South Africa, with developments like Unilofts and Campus Key present in several South African cities and towns with universities''.

In the context of rural South Africa, Ndimande (2018) explores the impact of student housing in the village of KwaDlangezwa near the University of Zululand in KwaZulu-Natal. Ndimande (2018) argues that the process of studentification has contributed to 'slummification' (slum formation) in this village. The demand for student housing within a largely unregulated environment has produced informal student housing. It is argued that the provision of informal student housing has benefited landowners economically, but the precarious and unregulated living conditions of students, however, is a challenge. Furthermore, Ndimande (2018) outlines that student housing presents several planning challenges for local government. There is also widespread resistance to the regulation and formalisation of student housing in this village. Overall, for Visser and Kisting (2019, p. 175) "the process of studentification in South African urban change is in its infancy and requires extensive scholarly attention". They call for further investigation on studentification across urban and rural South Africa where higher education institutions are present.

4.4 HIGHER EDUCATION LANDSCAPE IN JOHANNESBURG

The City of Johannesburg is a popular city amongst local and international students for accessing quality higher education. The University of the Witwatersrand, commonly known as Wits University is the city's oldest university. Wits University has its origins as part of the South African School of Mines, which established the Transvaal Technical Institute in Johannesburg in 1904. After a series of restructuring the institution was granted full university status in 1922 and renamed as the University of the Witwatersrand. The construction of the main campus followed at Milner Park in Braamfontein on land that was donated by the municipality of Johannesburg (Murray, 1982). By the time the institution was granted university status in 1922 it had just over 1000 students enrolled. The following decades saw a considerable expansion in student enrolment. By 1939 there were 2, 544 students and by 1963 this had more than doubled to 6, 275 students. By the mid-1980s the university had around 16, 400 students (Murray,

1982; Wits University, 2020). It is important to note that Wits University is a historically white English-medium institution. Despite this, the institution did offer space to non-white students during the apartheid era. Considered a liberal university, Wits academics and students played a crucial role in criticising and challenging the apartheid regime (Bunting, 2006). By 2018 the university had 40, 259 students, 5, 000 of which were accommodated at several university-owned and managed residences (Wits University, 2020). The growth in student numbers and diversity of programmes offered at the university over several decades has seen the expansion of university property with an extension and development of new campuses, acquiring property and expanding into Braamfontein and Parktown.

The City of Johannesburg is also home to one of the largest contact universities in the country. The University of Johannesburg was established through a merger of the Rand Afrikaans University (RAU), Technikon Witwatersrand (TWR) and the Soweto and East Rand Campus of Vista University in 2005 (Brink, 2010). Today the university has four campuses. The main campus, known as the Auckland Park Kingsway campus, is in Auckland Park. The main campus offers a variety of degree programmes in the humanities, law, science, education, engineering and commerce. The Bunting Road campus is located near the Auckland Park Kingsway campus in an adjacent area, known as Cottesloe. This campus offers a variety of diploma and degree programmes and is home to the Faculty of Art, Design and Architecture and the School of Tourism and Hospitality. The Doornfontein campus located in the inner-city of Johannesburg offers a variety of diploma and degree programmes and houses the Faculty of Health Sciences. Lastly, the Soweto campus (located in the township of Soweto) offers a range of diploma and degree programmes in commerce, education, humanities and law (University of Johannesburg, 2020).

The history of the Rand Afrikaans University (RAU) is markedly different from that of the University of the Witwatersrand. The establishment of RAU gained much support from the apartheid government. The university was established in 1968 as a conservative Afrikaans-medium institution, serving the white Afrikaans speaking population of the Witwatersrand (Klee and van Eeden, 2018). The university was not critical of the apartheid regime and gave strong support to the apartheid government (Bunting, 2006). It initially operated from a temporary site at the old South African breweries' buildings

in Braamfontein with 780 students registered in 1968 (Kelso and Kotze, 2016; Klee, 2017).

After much debate on deciding on a suitable site for the construction of a new campus, the upper-middle class suburb of Auckland Park was chosen in 1963. The planned site was met with resistance from local residents and the English and Jewish business chamber. Auckland Park residents in particular feared that the choice of site would lead to expropriation of properties (Klee and van Eeden, 2018). Klee (2017, p. 94) explains that by 1965:

> *Residents were concerned about the impact the university would have on the value of their properties and the environment in general. Residents argued that the construction of a new university in the area would negatively affect one of the oldest and most beautiful areas in Johannesburg. It would also result in residents' financial and personal loss of belonging, should the government expropriate their properties*.

Despite resistance, in September 1968 the National Party government bought 130 acres of land in Auckland Park for R1.8 million (Kelso and Kotze, 2016). Much of the site was secured from the golf course of the Johannesburg Country Club. The construction of the new campus proceeded, and staff and students took occupation at the start of the academic year in 1975 (Klee, 2017). Dubow (2006, p. 265) describes the campus in Auckland Park; "sculpted in soaring concrete, and arranged in semi-circular form, the RAU campus resembled an urban laager in the midst of Johannesburg".

During the 1980s and early 1990s most students enrolled at the institution were predominantly white and Afrikaans speaking (Bolsmann and Uys, 2001; Daniels, 2001). Only a few students of colour were permitted to register, and only after obtaining a ministerial permit (Bunting, 2004). Bunting (2006), however, outlines that few attempts were made by the institution to secure permits for non-white students prior to the 1990s. The period between 1990 and 1995 saw the rapid increase in the number of black students enrolled at RAU. By 1995 African, Coloured and Indian students made up 48% of the student body and by the end of the 1990s students of colour made up 54% (Bolsmann and Uys, 2001). Refer to Table 4.1 for a breakdown of RAUs student enrolment by race during the 1980s and 1990s.

Table 4.1: RAU student enrolment by race

Year	African	Coloured	Indian	Total students of colour	% students of colour	White	Total
1980	3	2	4	9	.002%	4,795	4,804
1985	42	63	3	108	.02%	6,865	6,973
1990	161	387	16	564	.06%	8,491	9,055
1995	8,174	870	639	9,684	48%	10, 580	20, 264
1998	11, 286	533	532	12, 351	56%	9,660	22, 011
1999	10, 101	464	637	11, 202	54%	9,596	20, 798

(Source: adapted from Bolsmann and Uys, 2001).

It is only after the merger in 2005, that the University of Johannesburg became one of the most transformed institutions in the country (Kelso and Kotze, 2016). Shifting from a predominantly white Afrikaans speaking institution to an English medium institution has seen a shift towards a more diverse student population, one which is more representative of South Africa's social and political environment (Brink, 2010). At the time of the merger in 2005 the university had 43, 498 contact students spread across its different campuses (University of Johannesburg, 2005). The number of students increased to 48, 276 in 2010 and stabilised around 50, 000 in 2015. The university aims to maintain capacity of around 50, 000 students and recorded 50, 687 contact students in 2018 (University of Johannesburg, 2010; 2015; 2018).

The Auckland Park Kingsway campus is the largest campus, with around 27, 000 students. The Bunting Road campus, which is located in the neighbouring area of Cottesloe has around 9, 000 students (University of Johannesburg, 2015). It is important to note that the NSFAS plays an important role in funding many students at the University of Johannesburg who are from a poor or working-class background. In 2018 the university reported that 20, 663 of its students received NSFAS of around R1.6 billion. Not only is NSFAS funding important for the payment of tuition fees, but it largely funds the privately owned student accommodation sector that has flourished around the university (University of Johannesburg, 2018).

A marked shift in the profile of the student body occurred in the post-apartheid period. The author survey conducted with students from the University of Johannesburg revealed that the majority of students come from provinces such as Gauteng, Mpumalanga, Limpopo and KwaZulu-Natal. Furthermore, students who are from Gauteng tend to originate from areas outside Johannesburg or from the townships that are located on the periphery of the city and the province. Refer to Table 4.2 for an overview on the province of origin of UJ students.

Table 4.2: UJ students province of origin

Province	Number of students	Percentage
Northern Cape	2	0.6%
Eastern Cape	20	5.6%
Western Cape	1	0.3%
KwaZulu-Natal	44	12%
Mpumalanga	71	20%
North West	24	6.7%
Free state	5	1.4%
Limpopo	61	17%
Gauteng	131	36%
Total	n=359	

(Source: Author Survey).

Overall, a great proportion of the student body seeking accommodation near the university comprises black South African students and the majority are first-generation university students who benefit from government support introduced to assist their tertiary studies. Most students that were surveyed indicated their funding is sourced from NSFAS or other bursars. According to the author survey, 72% of students (n=370) rely on NSFAS for funding tuition and accommodation. Furthermore, 88% of students (n=367) indicated that their accommodation supplier is NSFAS accredited. Table 4.3 provides a breakdown of student financial support.

Table 4.3: UJ students financial support

Financial support	Number of students	Percentage
Own	18	5%
Parents/ Custodian	39	11%
NSFAS	265	72%
Other bursary	48	13%
Total	n=370	

(Source: Author Survey).

In 2018 the university reported that housing for students remained a challenge. The university offered 6, 643 beds at on-campus student residences. Given the enormous shortfall, most students are channelled into private student accommodation. In 2018, 18,057 students were resident in privately owned student accommodation (University of Johannesburg, 2018). The university established a dedicated department to manage the quality control and accreditation process of private suppliers of student accommodation. In 2015 the university reviewed its off-campus student accommodation policy to improve the accreditation process. This review revealed many irregularities, especially in the quality of some private suppliers. The privately owned student accommodation policy of the university was approved in 2016 and aims to establish a criteria and procedure for evaluating private suppliers of accommodation. The policy also focuses on setting out a plan for monitoring and compliance of private suppliers of accommodation. Since the release of the policy the university has embarked on a much stricter accreditation process to make sure private suppliers adhere to the criteria set out in the policy (University of Johannesburg, 2016). This policy further elaborates on the role of NSFAS funding accommodation for students residing at university accredited properties. Students enter into an agreement with the private suppliers and use the amount allocated for housing from the NSFAS to pay for their accommodation (University of Johannesburg, 2016). Overall, the university's private housing policy is in line with the DHET (2015) policy on the minimum norms and standards for student housing at public universities in South Africa. This policy mandates universities across the country to ensure that both on and off-campus student housing are regulated, and university accredited. Students should have access to accommodation of reasonable quality, that is suitable for living, learning, and promoting academic success (DHET, 2015).

Both Wits University and the University of Johannesburg have impacted the urban morphology and contributed to neighbourhood change in Johannesburg. Apart from these two institutions there are several private higher education institutions scattered throughout Johannesburg, many of these are near the University of Johannesburg and Wits University. According to the DHET (2016) there are five private higher education institutions in Braamfontein which include, City Varsity, Damelin, IMM Graduate School of Marketing, the Independent Institute of Education and Lyceum college. The South African School of Motion Picture Medium and Live Performance (AFDA) is in Braamfontein Werf. In Auckland Park there is the Academy of Sound Engineering and in Richmond the Milpark Education Business School (DHET, 2016). The presence of two major universities and several private higher education institutions have made Braamfontein and Auckland Park and surrounding areas popular for private student accommodation service providers. Refer to Figure 4.1 for a spatial overview of Johannesburg's higher education landscape and the study area.

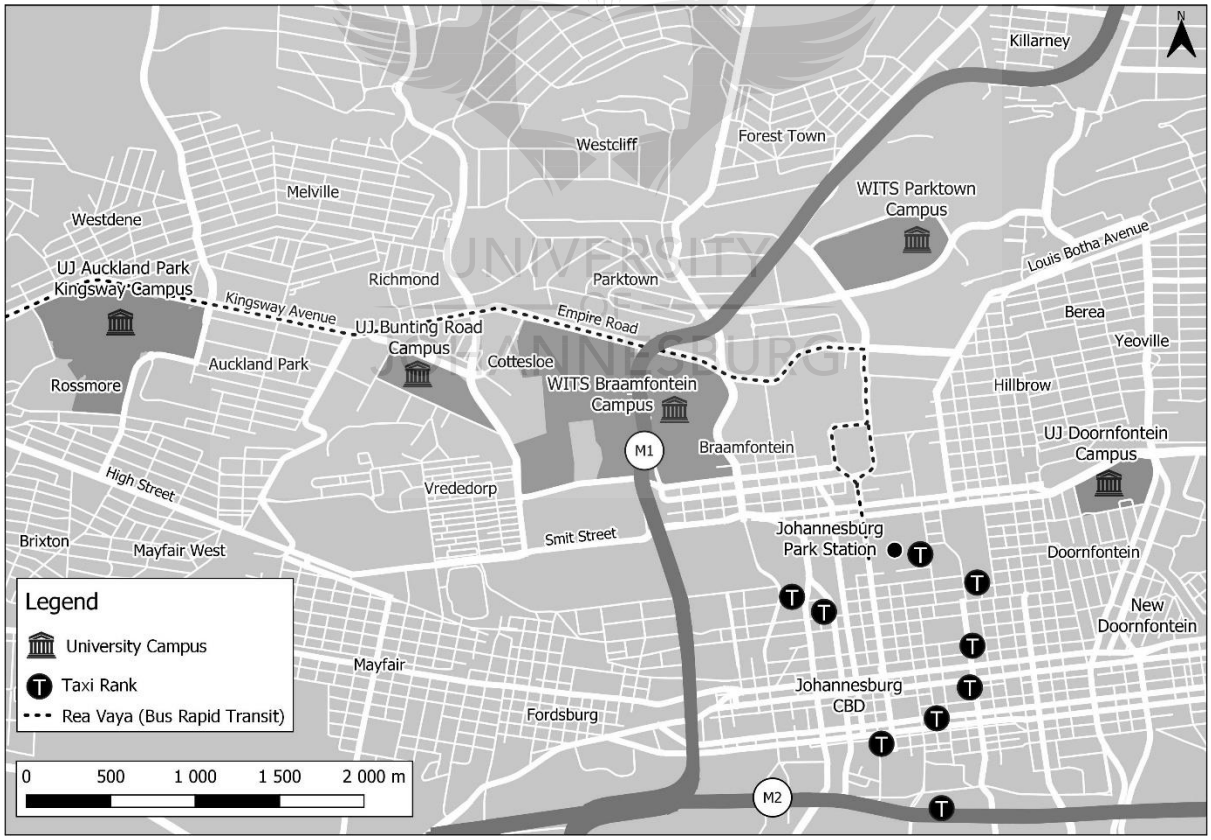

Figure 4.1: Map of study area (Source: Author)

The City of Johannesburg has recognised the impact of private student housing. In 2009 the city released its commune policy, which largely focuses on restricting the total

number of communes to 20% in a residential area and to regulate and monitor compliance of city by-laws. This policy response is to mitigate the negative impacts associated with communes (City of Johannesburg, 2009). In 2013 the city announced its ambitious "Corridors of Freedom" (now called transit-oriented development) initiative to redress the socio-spatial injustices of the apartheid city (City of Johannesburg, 2013). The initiative focuses on transit-oriented development along certain corridors connecting townships and working-class areas with key economic nodes located in the inner-city and Sandton. The initiative also focuses on densification along these corridors, with a focus on mixed use developments and affordable housing. The Empire-Perth corridor connects the township of Soweto with the inner-city with a rapid bus transit system, known as Rea Vaya (City of Johannesburg, 2013; Harrison et al., 2019). This corridor runs past the University of Johannesburg, several private higher education institutions, and Wits University (Refer to Figure 4.1). This portion of the corridor has been designated as a knowledge precinct, stimulating a lot of investment interest in development of private student accommodation (Harrison et al., 2019). Within a favourable policy environment for densification, the private sector has responded to the construction of purpose-built student accommodation near the University of Johannesburg in Auckland Park. The inner-city of Johannesburg has become an important space for retrofitted student accommodation. The inner-city also offers students access to public transportation, with many students relying on mini-bus taxis as their main form of transportation (Refer to Figure 4.1). In 2019 the City of Johannesburg has further responded to the lack of affordable student housing and released 11 city-owned properties to developers for retrofitted student accommodation (Pheto, 2019).

4.5 CONCLUSION

During apartheid South Africa's higher education system afforded limited access to students of colour. Since the 1990s South Africa's higher education landscape has dramatically transformed with policies focused on increased access and democratisation. The role of the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) must be underscored as crucial for achieving greater access. More broadly, the massification of South Africa's higher education system in the post-apartheid era is not unique but reflects a global trend

of the neoliberlisation of higher education since the 1980s. This has stimulated the extension of a range of student services including the private student housing sector. Despite achieving greater access, South African students from poor and working-class backgrounds still face challenges of affordability of tuition fees and the cost of accommodation.

A growing literature on studentification in South Africa revealed that housing in multiple occupation have long been a feature in residential areas near higher education institutions in South Africa. Most of the scholarly attention on studentification in South Africa has focused on the impact of houses in multiple occupation. These impacts have largely been documented as negative, contributing to the physical and socio-cultural decline of residential areas. By the 2010s there was evidence of the systematic shift and growth of purpose-built student accommodation across many university cities and towns.

The higher education landscape in Johannesburg reveals that the presence of two large universities and several private higher education institutions have impacted the urban morphology of several commercial and residential areas. The development, growth and expansion of university campuses along with a rapid increase in the student population of Johannesburg since the 1990s have contributed to studentification in areas surrounding university campuses. The next two chapters explores studentification in Johannesburg. This will include the impact of both housing in multiple occupation and purpose-built student accommodation.

CHAPTER 5

HOUSING IN MULTIPLE OCCUPATION AND STUDENTIFICATION IN JOHANNESBURG

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The focus of this chapter is on the impact of first-wave studentification in the form housing in multiple occupation in Johannesburg. The impact of studentification is examined for five residential areas of Auckland Park, Brixton, Hurst Hill, Melville and Westdene that surround the University of Johannesburg's Auckland Park Kingsway Campus. Several themes are discussed. First, a background to the origin, growth and geographical distribution of housing in multiple occupation in Johannesburg are examined. Second, investor motivation in this market highlights the various benefits and challenges associated with this housing market. Third, the lived experiences of students who reside in this housing option are discussed with a focus on their locational choice, as well as the various benefits and challenges associated with communal living. Fourth, from the perspective of the community the various social, economic and physical impacts associated with housing in multiple occupation are unpacked. Lastly, the challenges linked to the lack of by-law enforcement from the City of Johannesburg and community resistance to studentification is explored.

Several research methods were employed to understand the dynamics of housing in multiple occupation and studentification in Johannesburg. To inform the supply-side perspective, a total of seven semi-structured interviews were conducted with student housing suppliers. In-depth interviews were undertaken with the head of private student housing at the University of Johannesburg, the councillor for Ward 87 and the chairperson of the Department of Development Planning at Johannesburg City Council. In terms of the student experience, focus groups and a survey were conducted with student participants living in residential areas surrounding the university. To explore the impact of student commune housing on non-student residents, a combination of participant observation, semi-structured interviews and content analysis of posts related to student communes on community Facebook groups were used.

5.2 STUDENT COMMUNES IN JOHANNESBURG

The research area around the Auckland Park Kingsway campus of the University of Johannesburg has been a focus for student communes as far back as the 1980s. At that time, the campus was the heart of the former – almost exclusively white – Rand Afrikaans University (RAU). During the 1980s and 1990s, early investors in properties for student housing were parents, recent graduates or existing property owners who converted garages, domestic staff quarters and back rooms into garden cottages on their properties to rent out to students for an additional income. It can be argued that during these decades this private student housing market for RAU had marginal investment interest, as the majority of student housing demand was met by university-supplied accommodation, which was mostly on campus. In addition, many of the students were considered "dailies", commuting to campus from their family homes across the greater Johannesburg metropolitan region. This limited demand for private student housing reflected the smaller student population of RAU at the time, which catered overwhelmingly to a minority white (and mostly Afrikaner) student population (Interview, Auckland Park Residents Association Member, 14 August 2017; Interview, Head of Private Student Accommodation, University of Johannesburg, 1 March 2018).

During the early 2000s, student enrolment at what would become the new University of Johannesburg increased steadily but university-supplied accommodation did not, thus it triggered greater demand for private student housing (Interview, Student Housing Supplier 1, 19 July 2017; Interview, Head of Private Student Accommodation, University of Johannesburg, 1 March 2018). This gap in the market stimulated a new wave of investment in communes that stretched beyond the initial marginal investment interest of the 1990s. The early 2000s saw investors seeking properties for the sole purpose of recommodifying and conversion into student commune housing (Interview, Student Housing Supplier 3, 18 August 2017). During the 2000s, student commune housing was often associated with haphazard conversions that were unregulated and without proper city approval in place. By the mid- to late-2000s the proliferation of unregulated communes became rampant in residential areas close to the university's Auckland Park Kingsway Campus (City of Johannesburg, 2009; Interview, Head of Private Student Accommodation, University of Johannesburg, 1 March 2018). The City of Johannesburg

(2012, p. 1) noted that "students live in conditions of extreme squalor and it is clear to us that some commune owners have no regard for the health and wellbeing of the students they claim to serve".

The unregulated nature of commune housing throughout much of the 2000s was linked to a lack of policies from the City of Johannesburg and the university. During 2008 the City of Johannesburg conducted research on the impact of communes in Auckland Park. The research revealed that many students (and other transient population groups) had fallen victim to exploitative landlords in unregulated communes. The local community of Auckland Park also felt that the development of communes attracted crime and contributed to the aesthetic decline and devaluation of property prices in the neighbourhood. The outcome of this research was the subsequent development of the City of Johannesburg's commune policy. This policy was released in 2009 to regulate this housing market. Importantly, this policy stipulates that only 20% of properties in a residential area can be converted into communes. This policy states that communes are required to obtain consent use through a commune license from the City of Johannesburg to operate legally. This application process involves several health and safety requirements, as well as compliance with national building regulations. Furthermore, it is important to note that the commune license is attached to the property and not the property owner (City of Johannesburg, 2009; 2012).

The University of Johannesburg formulated its own policy for the regulation of privately-owned student accommodation (University of Johannesburg, 2016). As a result of the implementation of this policy, the university embarked on a rigorous process of accrediting private student-housing suppliers with a strict set of specifications (University of Johannesburg, 2016; Interview, Head of Private Student Accommodation, University of Johannesburg, 1 March 2018). Despite the introduction of these policies on the regulation of communes, non-accredited and illegal communes have continued to proliferate in the suburbs that surround the University of Johannesburg's Auckland Park Kingsway campus.

Overall, three different types of communes can be identified within the environs of the university. The first type of commune is accredited by the university and has consent use and a commune license from the City of Johannesburg. This group of accredited communes, which on average house eight students, has gone through a strict application

and accreditation process to become suppliers of accommodation for the University of Johannesburg (Refer to Figure 5.1). Second, there are non-accredited communes that do have consent use and a commune license from the city to operate as a legal commune but do not have university accreditation (Refer to Figure 5.2). These communes operate as non-accredited suppliers of student accommodation. As well as housing students, such non-accredited suppliers provide accommodation to non-students and working people. Third, are a group of illegal communes that do not have consent use or a commune license from the City of Johannesburg. Without consent use from the city, a commune cannot become a university-accredited supplier (Interview, Department of Development Planning Chairperson, City of Johannesburg, 9 December 2018; Interview, Head of Private Student Accommodation, University of Johannesburg, 1 March 2018).

Figure 5.1: University-accredited student commune, Brixton (Source: Author)

Figure 5.2: Non-accredited student commune, Hursthill (Source: Author)

The past two decades have seen the number of communes increase significantly in residential areas near the University of Johannesburg's Auckland Park Kingsway campus. Although communes are present in many residential areas of Johannesburg, the highest concentration of multiple-occupation housing is in Auckland Park, Brixton, Melville, Hursthill and Westdene. Most student communes are concentrated in what would be considered the working-class neighbourhoods of Brixton, Hursthill and Westdene (Refer to Figure 5.5). This in part, is due to more reasonably priced properties in these neighbourhoods. In contrast, the concentration of communes is far less in Auckland Park and Melville, which are considered middle class neighbourhoods. Melville was one of the first neighbourhoods in Johannesburg to experience gentrification and Auckland Park was initially developed as a middle-class neighbourhood. This is reflected in the quality of the housing stock and the size of the properties and stands.

An audit of accredited communes revealed that there are 140 university-accredited communes in residential areas surrounding the Auckland Park Kingsway campus, which supplies housing for 1,258 students (Refer to Figure 5.3). It is important to note that the number of communes listed on the university's private housing list (which is updated

annually) adhere to both city and institutional criteria and are licensed to operate as a commune.

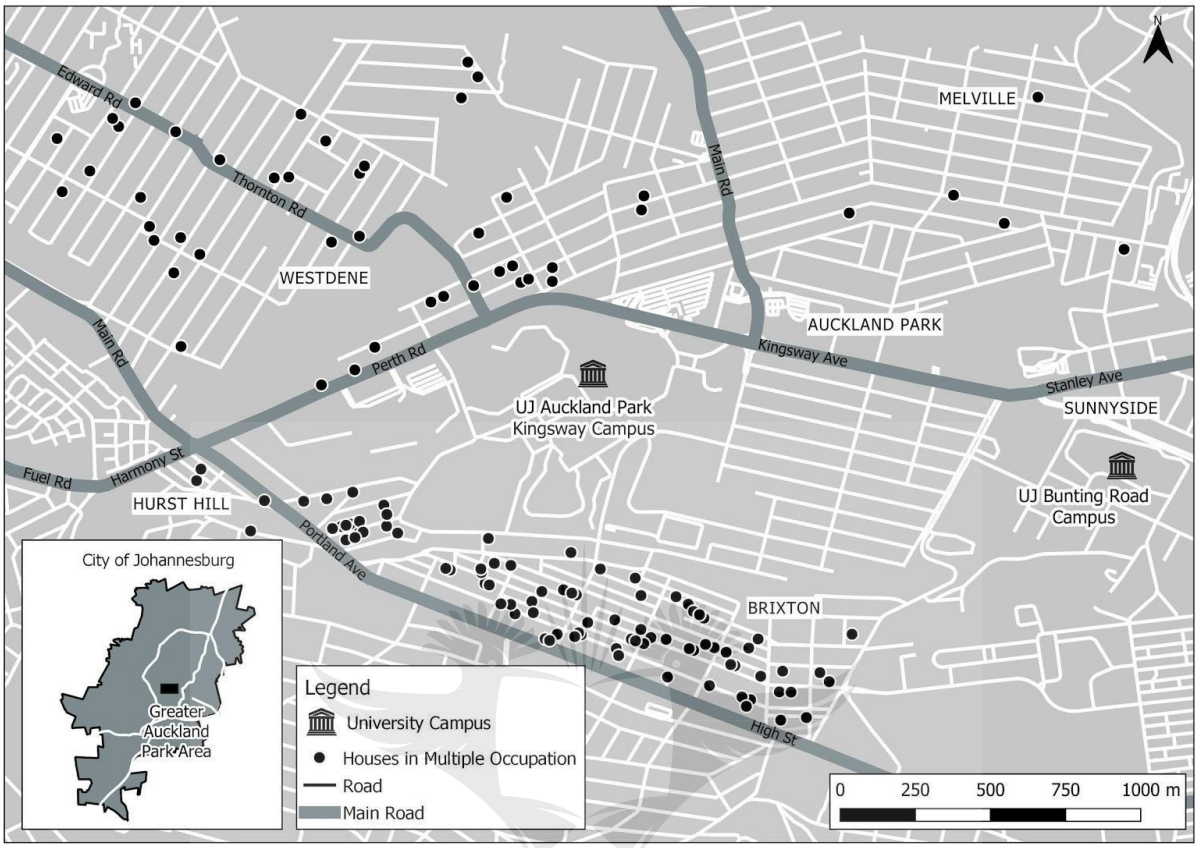

Figure 5.3: Spatial distribution of university accredited student communes in greater Auckland Park (Source: Author)

It is, however, the proliferation of unregulated and illegal communes that causes the most widespread impact and community frustration. The City of Johannesburg (2012, p. 1) reported that "in 2009, over 500 cases were opened against illegal communes in Region B. In the same period, 120 applications for communes were received. Of these, 35 were declined as they did not meet the necessary requirements. Only 15 were approved". The councillor for Ward 87[1] (Interview, 13 July 2017) which includes greater Auckland Park estimates that there are 905 illegal communes, with a conservative estimate of 7,240 people living in such illegal communes. An interview conducted with the chairperson of the city's Department of Development Planning (Interview, 9 December 2018) revealed

[1] Councillors are elected to represent local communities on municipal councils, to ensure that municipalities have structured mechanisms of accountability to local communities, and to meet the priority needs of communities by providing services equitably, effectively and sustainably within the means of the municipality (City of Johannesburg, 2020).

that the city council does not have a record of the total number of illegal communes and instead relies on communities to collate and report illegal commune activity.

The chairperson for Auckland Park Residents Association (Interview, 10 August 2017) explained that: *"There are loads [of illegal communes]! It is vastly more than we imagine. Any establishment that has a "cash only" advertisement on the gate is probably illegal. If it is legal, it would go through the formal processes. There are many more than we are aware of".* Figure 5.4 provides an example of a "cash only" advertisement at a non-accredited commune.

Figure 5.4: Non-accredited commune advertising, Auckland Park (Source: Author)

This viewpoint was confirmed by Brixton Community Forum Member (Interview, 4 October 2018) that "*if we count all the illegal communes, we are way above our 20% quota for communes, probably around 40%. There are masses and we can't keep track of them*." It is therefore difficult to determine the exact number of illegal communes in the study area. The resident's associations in areas surrounding the university regularly conduct checks and report properties that are suspected of illegal commune activity.

It is important to note the role that real estate agents play as gatekeepers in the supply of student accommodation. Both real estate agents and investors have realised the demand for student accommodation. It was found that several agencies would market properties specifically as potential student communes (Refer to Figure 5.5.). One real estate agent

that specialises in the greater Auckland Park area explains that *"having the large concentration of students here has made a huge difference to the property market. There is this massive influx of students. I must get four to five calls a day from investors*" (Interview, Remax Real Estate Agent, 5 March 2018). In Brixton for example, some real estate agents have a list of potential investors, this results in properties being sold directly to investors and thereby excludes other potential buyers such as families from the market (Interview, Rawson Real Estate Agent, 11 September 2018). Some real estate agents market properties as potential student communes without disclosing the stringent commune license application from the City of Johannesburg and the strict university accreditation process (Interview, Remax Real Estate Agent, 5 March 2018). Therefore, some investors might run the risk of acquiring a property without being able to legally operate as a commune from the outset.

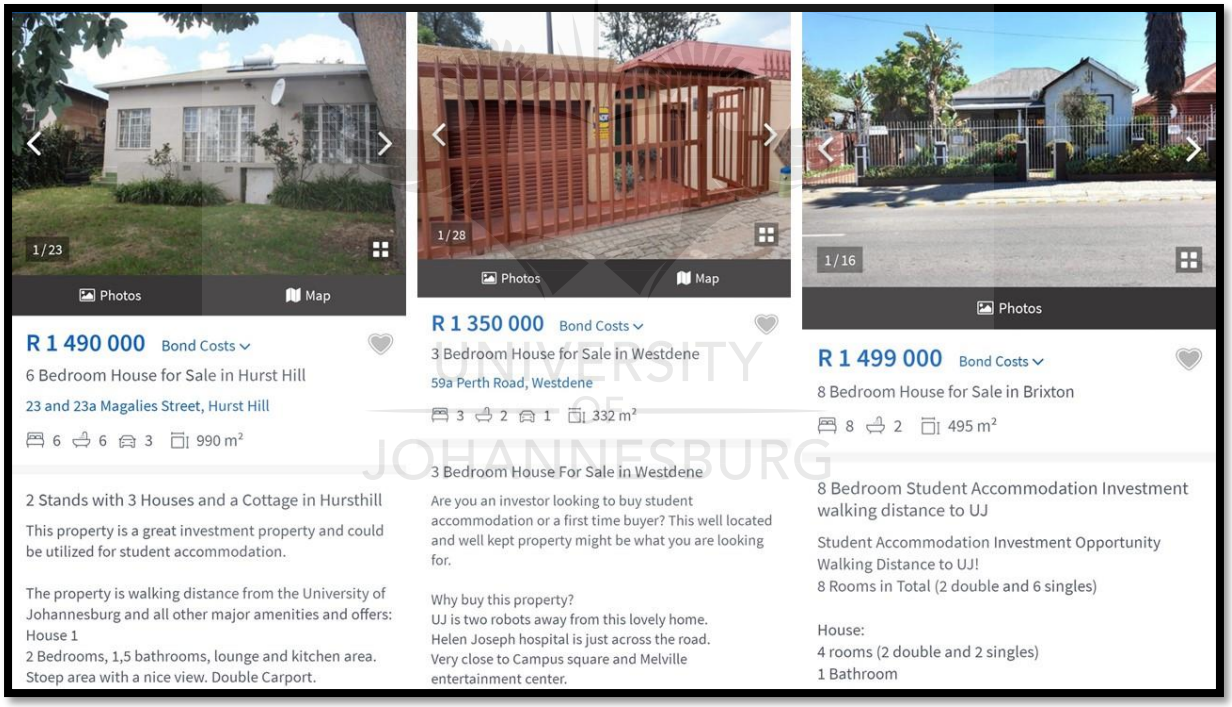

Figure 5.5: Property listings near the University of Johannesburg (Source: Property24)

The location and proximity of the properties to the university campus is critical and this also reflected in the property listings (Refer to Figure 5.5.). Therefore, properties that are located within easy walking distance from the university gates are most sought after for student accommodation. The Remax Real Estate Agent (Interview, 5 March 2018) observes that *"streets like Aberdeen and Ararat [in Westdene] have become student streets, because they are quite close to the [university] gates*". Overall, areas such as Westdene,

Hursthill and Brixton have seen an increase in student communes compared to Melville or Auckland Park. This is partly due to the cheaper property values in those areas, coupled with proximity to campus (Interview, Rawson Real Estate Agent, 11 September 2018).

Indeed, the growth in student demand for accommodation has stimulated investor interest in this housing market. The student commune market in Johannesburg offers investors a situation of sustained demand, with suppliers of such accommodation benefiting from the continuous stream of new students that each year are seeking accommodation. According to the head of private student accommodation at the university, student numbers are growing steadily each year and the demand remains strong for communes as a housing option for students. This popularity of communes has remained despite the growth of alternative housing options such as purpose-built student accommodation or inner-city buildings that have been retrofitted for student accommodation (Interview, Head of Private Student Accommodation, University of Johannesburg, 1 March 2018).

Student housing suppliers indicate that one of the key motivations for investors entering this market is that it offers a guaranteed and projectable income. A guaranteed rental return is calculated per student per room (sometimes sharing) and the total rent generated per property offers a higher yield than from a single-family. Under the NSFAS funding model, from which many students benefit, a percentage of their funding is allocated to accommodation and is paid directly to accommodation suppliers. The NSFAS rental rate per student is R3,600 per month (2020 rate). Several student housing suppliers stated that this guaranteed rental income paid from an organisation rather than an individual is extremely attractive for investors as there is less risk involved, and suppliers can project earnings and capital gains. One supplier explains:

> *It is a great investment opportunity still, the interest you get from the bank won't give you what you get from a commune. My one house [in Brixton] has four bedrooms and a cottage and two bathrooms. If I had to rent it out to a family, I wouldn't get more than R7,500 per month. Between my two properties, I get R42,000 per month.* (Interview, Student Housing Supplier, 8 November 2017)

For the group of accommodation suppliers, students are perceived as low-risk tenants and form part of a transient population group with less risk staying on in properties and not paying rent. Accordingly, suppliers are not faced with the risk of obtaining eviction notices through a court application. One interviewed housing supplier reflected that:

> *I think one of the reasons why people go for students is because of the NSFAS link... With any type of investment, you want to project your future cash flow and with the current rental act, it is risky as you can get stuck with people who stop paying rent and you can't immediately kick them out. Fortunately, students are a lot easier and less of a risk because of guaranteed rental income from NSFAS and they are transient, they move on, they are not permanent residents with families* (Interview, Student Housing Supplier, 18 August 2017).

Various challenges and risks also exist within the student commune market. Table 5.1 provides a summary of the risks and challenges associated with the development and supply of student communes in the context of Johannesburg.

Table 5.1: Potential risks and challenges associated with student communes

Sustainability of government/NSFAS funding	*Funding reliant on government subsidy. Concerns surrounding the sustainability of the current funding model.*
University accreditation process	*The stringent accreditation process is seen as a barrier to entry for investors.*
Limitations set by the City of Johannesburg	*Strict commune license application process. Other limitations include by-laws, densification restrictions, heritage restrictions and other infrastructural limitations.*
High maintenance costs and the rising cost of municipal services	*High annual maintenance costs associated with students. The rising cost of water and electricity.*
Risk of self-funded students absconding	*Self-funded students are often seen as a risk; they can abscond and find cheaper accommodation elsewhere.*

Uninformed investors	*Lack of knowledge on how the industry works; investors only realise the strict application process and costs involved after the property is purchased.*
Illegal communes	*The growth of illegal communes and their negative socio-economic impact in various neighbourhoods have created a negative image of student communes.*
Community resistance to commune development	*Communes are met with community opposition and resistance. Community objections occur against the conversion of properties for communes.*
Negative media reporting	*A negative media narrative on the impact of communes and students persists, which has tarnished the industry.*
Impact of crime	*Safety and crime have impacted the industry both in terms of costs involved for securing properties and the risk of protecting students against the threat of crime.*

(Source: Supplier Interviews).

Undoubtedly, the greatest external threat as highlighted by commune suppliers is the sustainability of the funding model of NSFAS and other bursaries, as the industry relies on payments from the government subsidy for funding student accommodation. In interviews, several suppliers expressed their concern regarding the longevity and sustainability of the NSFAS funding model. If students were not to have access to NSFAS (or similar funding schemes) most do not have the personal funds to pay for tuition and accommodation fees. What this means is that the national government, through the operations of NSFAS, is largely the "price-maker" in the student accommodation market, which in turn makes the suppliers strongly dependent on the functioning and sustainability of the NSFAS funding model (Interview, Student Housing Supplier, 10 November 2017).

Another key concern for suppliers is the stringency of the university accreditation process. Several suppliers argued that the requirements as set out by the university constantly shift and have become much stricter in recent years. There is a lengthy process involved in becoming a university-accredited supplier. This includes obtaining city consent use and a commune license, and only then does the university accreditation

process begin, which can take up to two years (Interview, Student Housing Supplier, 8 November 2017). Suppliers face the risk of not being profitable or benefiting from NSFAS payment in the first two years of operation (Interview, Student Housing Supplier, 8 November 2017). Accredited suppliers are subject to annual inspections and the need to adapt to the changing requirements of the university, and if not, there is the guaranteed risk that they will lose accreditation status (Interview, Head of Private Student Accommodation, 1 March 2018). In addition, the university also conducts unannounced inspections and if something is out of order or fails to meet the university requirements, the supplier runs the risk of losing their accreditation (Interview, Student Housing Supplier, 10 November 2017). High property maintenance costs and the rising cost of services is another challenge that suppliers highlight: "*the maintenance costs associated with student housing is much higher than any other rental market. Having to repaint, repair and replace soft furnishings every year*" (Interview, Student Housing Supplier, 19 April 2017). As water and electricity are included in rent payments for NSFAS students in accredited communes there is often the uncontrolled and wasteful use of water and electricity. The increasing costs of electricity and water coupled with wasteful usage by students mean water and electricity charges can escalate if certain controls are not introduced by the supplier.

In non-accredited properties, suppliers face the risk of self-funded or (as they are popularly known) "cash students" absconding without payment of rent. During the academic year, as some students fail courses, occupation levels can begin to drop in non-accredited properties, thus forcing commune owners to turn to other non-student tenants (Interview, Head of Private Student Accommodation, University of Johannesburg, 1 March 2018; Student Housing Supplier, 19 April 2017). As rental competition exists amongst non-accredited communes there is a risk that students can abscond and relocate to cheaper properties. Four of the student housing providers agreed that, overall, the group of cash or privately funded students are considered higher risk than NSFAS students with a guaranteed income. Seemingly, some suppliers enter the commune market with preconceived ideas of what the profit margin or return on investment will be, and this is not always realised. The lease period is only 10 months and limitations are imposed on the number of people that are legally allowed to live in a commune (Interview, Student Housing Supplier, 8 November 2017). Furthermore, there is also the risk of converting a commune but not securing consent use or accreditation and then

being forced to become a non-accredited or illegal commune (Interview, Head of Private Student Accommodation, 1 March 2018). Investors underestimate the costs involved in the conversion of old traditional family homes into communes as properties need to be rewired and new plumbing installed (Interview, Student Housing Supplier, 18 August 2017). In numerous instances, suppliers who do not comply with consent from the City of Johannesburg or the university accreditation process operate illegally, which negatively impacts the image of the industry.

Another challenge facing most commune owners is that of widespread community resistance and objection to commune applications and new conversions. One respondent housing supplier reflected that:

> *We've had it a few times when we try to start a student house and the minute the neighbours figure that out, it's an ugly story. There is a lot of community resistance. You need to prove yourself to them, that it is going to be well managed and that you are in the process of obtaining a commune license* (Interview, Student Housing Supplier, 18 August 2017).

The negative association with communes has caused increased community resistance and objection to the establishment of communes. In most cases, commune applications are objected to by resident's associations and neighbours, which results in projects being put on hold, with corresponding delays for consent use from the city and the university accreditation process. Rezoning or densification applications also meet with resistance from community associations and not least because of negative media reporting that tarnishes the industry (Interview, Student Housing Supplier, 19 April 2017).

Finally, safety and security considerations and the impact of crime is of major concern for suppliers. Ensuring security and access control is particularly difficult in communes where multiple tenants are living and entering the property throughout the day and during evening hours, and this increases the risk of theft or robberies. All suppliers agreed that crime in the areas surrounding the university is high and a threat to both property owners and students. Many property owners indicated significant losses due to theft: "*Our commune has been broken into many times, with no help from police when you call them to investigate, and many of our tenants have been mugged several times*" (Interview, Student Housing Supplier, 18 August 2017). To address crime risks to the

property the suppliers adopt certain precautionary measures: "*During December and January when the students are gone, suppliers need to make sure communes stay occupied by caretakers or security to ensure properties do not get stripped from electrical appliances, wiring and pipes*" (Interview, Student Housing Supplier, 19 April 2017).

5.3 STUDENT EXPERIENCE

Attention now shifts to explore student perspectives on living in communes surrounding the university. The discussion details student motivation for locational choice, the benefits associated with commune housing, as well as the various challenges associated with commune residence. The material draws on field notes and the findings from five focus groups and the authors survey that was conducted.

Issues of affordability and desire for proximity and the convenience of being located close to campus emerged as the main motivations for most students. Affordability is a key consideration for students. A diverse price range exists within the student commune market, with rooms ranging from R1,500 per room at illegal or non-accredited communes to around R3,000 per room at accredited communes. The author's survey revealed that most students, 65% (n=365) found their accommodation affordable, with 35% (n=365) finding it less affordable. Self-funded students who do not benefit from NSFAS or other bursaries are particularly motivated by affordability considerations, as they rely on parents, other family members or guardians for financial support to fund their university tuition and accommodation fees. The cohort of self-funded students is mostly channelled into those properties that are non-accredited or illegal communes, as rental rates in these properties are often significantly lower than for accredited communes. By contrast, students who benefit from NSFAS or any other type of bursaries are channelled into accredited properties where the accommodation price is set by NSFAS at a rate of around R3,600 per person (price in 2020). Students with NSFAS and other bursaries are not responsible for the payment of accommodation themselves, as NSFAS and other bursaries allocate a specific amount towards housing. University-accredited properties are inclusive of additional services such as laundry, Wi-Fi, water and electricity. Accredited communes were viewed as affordable, as students do not have to spend extra money on additional services. As one student stated: "*If I had to pay the rent out of my*

pocket, I would not be able to afford it. I've got NSFAS" (Respondent – Westdene Focus Group, 11 May 2018). Those students who reside in illegal or non-accredited communes save money on cheaper rent, but often spend more money on additional services such as the Internet, laundry and payments for water and electricity usage (Respondents – Brixton Focus Group, 2 March 2018; Hurst Hill Focus Group, 23 March 2018). A student in a non-accredited commune elaborated as follows:

> *In terms of rent, it is affordable, I pay between R2,500 to R2,800 per month. It only includes water and electricity. No Wi-Fi, which is what I miss. There are also no cleaning services. At non-accredited communes there are no additional services; you are responsible for everything, in the end, I have to self-fund all those additional services, making it less affordable* (Respondent – Westdene Focus Group, 11 May 2018).

Likewise, another student explained:

> *There is no Wi-Fi, no washing machines – there's just nothing. I am paying R3,200 per month and on top of that, I need to buy data. So, I feel like I have a lot more expenses than when I stayed at an accredited property* (Respondent – Hurst Hill Focus Group, 23 March 2018).

Students are also motivated to live within walking distance of campus to minimise the cost of public transport and to reduce commuting time. Areas such as Auckland Park, Brixton, Hurst Hill, Melville and Westdene are within easy walking distance of campus. This is confirmed by the authors survey that revealed 74% of students (n=362) feel that proximity to campus is a particularly important locational factor for student accommodation.

> *I chose Auckland Park because of its proximity to campus, the place I stayed at previously was too far away from campus. Some of my classes are at 8[am] and I don't like to wake up too early. I don't know the area so well. I am not from here, it's a bit new for me. So, I wanted to stay closer for convenience and Campus Square mall is close by. Just looking at the cost. I don't have to spend money on transportation, I can walk almost everywhere for shopping and university* (Respondent - Auckland Park Focus Group, 9 March 2018).

> *When we started to view properties in Brixton we realised how close to university it is and very convenient and better than the other places we viewed. So, we chose it because it is so close by and you can just walk to campus* (Respondent - Brixton Focus Group, 2 March 2018).

Many students argued that areas such as Melville and Auckland Park are attractive not only because of the proximity to campus but because of other services in these areas, such as retail and entertainment facilities. The authors survey revealed that the Campus Square shopping mall, right opposite the University of Johannesburg's Auckland Park Kingsway campus is an important space for student shopping. Other popular spaces for student shopping include the Protea shopping centre in Brixton and the Triomf Shopping centre in Sophiatown.

Students flagged the importance of close access to entertainment facilities and an area's night-time economy as being influenced upon their locational choice. The survey revealed students socialise at a variety of places which include, public spaces such as parks and sidewalks, sports and other recreational facilities. Some students indicated that they are actively involved with their church and its social activities. Several students indicated that they socialise at their accommodation. Most students that participated in the survey, however, indicated that they socialise at shopping malls and a variety of bars and clubs located in Braamfontein, Maboneng, Melville and other parts of the inner-city. Braamfontein and Melville are underscored as popular spaces for the night-time economy with a variety of establishments aimed at the student market.

In addition, focus group respondents indicated that they were motivated in their choice of housing by desires to have access to their peers and social life: "*Brixton has a student community, so I know there are always students around and I can interact with them and it's not like being alone in a remote area where I am like the only person from the university*" (Respondent – Brixton Focus Group, 2 March 2018). Another student indicated that attachment to a sense of place is important: "*Westdene is already known as a student neighbourhood*" (Respondent – Westdene Focus Group, 11 May 2018). Students are attracted to settle in neighbourhoods that are already perceived as a student area.

All focus groups revealed that the social aspect of living with other students or peers with shared life experience is important. Having access to peers forms a large part of the social

life for many students, with regular socialising and parties a feature of many communes. Many students indicated that during the week (especially Mondays to Wednesdays) it is generally quieter, and students tend to focus on university work. From Thursday, on Friday and at the weekends, there is increased socialising at communes and often parties at some properties. One student stated: "*During the week I try hard to focus on school, then the weekend comes, and Friday comes, we just live, life, I guess. Sometimes the party starts at the commune and then we go somewhere else*" (Respondent – Melville Focus Group, 16 March 2018). Another respondent observed: "*I also try to do much of my academic work during the week, because on Friday it's just a different vibe, everyone is just happy and bubbly*" (Respondent – Auckland Park Focus Group, 9 March 2018).

Some students chose a commune for the quieter living conditions as compared to the densely populated student residences. Communes were preferred by senior students (2nd year of study and above) who prefer a quieter space in which to study. Some senior students have pointed out that they prefer communes in quieter residential areas: "*The house I chose is nice and quiet and I can study better. Communes offer quieter space for studying*" (Respondent – Brixton Focus Group, 2 March 2018). Another observation was that "*I wanted to stay in a quiet place. I stayed in Braamfontein for six years. It got a little bit tiring, it was too much chaos, too much everything at once, so I wanted to move to a subtler place*" (Respondent – Westdene Focus Group, 11 May 2018). Life in communes offers students more privacy as compared to university and private residences, as the density is much lower and there are fewer shared facilities: "*Well for me it's privacy. In residences there is always sharing; there I get to be in my own space at my own time*" (Respondent – Westdene Focus Group, 11 May 2018). Communes also offer students more freedom and independence than life in student residences, often with many house rules: "*I didn't want to live on campus because I want more freedom and fewer rules and regulations that come with residences*" (Respondent – Brixton Focus Group, 2 March 2018). Likewise, another respondent remarked: "*Yes! Freedom is the number one reason! I am a rule-breaker, I love breaking rules*" (Respondent – Melville Focus Group, 16 March 2018). Communes offer freedom to have visitors and to socialise more than would be possible at university or private residences:

> *At our commune, we are so free that we can bring in any gender of visitors and they can sleepover too. We are that comfortable at our commune. We are all welcoming, so*

> *we are like one big happy family. We are allowed visitors, we can come in any time we want, and the landlord is like a friend. We are so lucky. He doesn't live on the property and there is no caretaker on the property* (Respondent – Brixton Focus Group, 2 March 2018).

The proximity of many student communes and the ability to walk to campus is, however, a double-edged sword. Safety is a major concern for students who rely on walking to campus. Respondents in all focus groups disclosed that living close to campus might reduce the risk of exposure to crime and muggings. One student living in Auckland Park observed as follows: "*So, I just wanted to choose the closest area to campus as possible. I thought it was better for me to stay as close as possible for safety. I don't have to worry*" (Respondent – Auckland Park Focus Group, 9 March 2018). Another student residing in Auckland Park stated:

> *I just wanted to choose the closest area to campus as possible. The chance of someone mugging me from class to my commune is reduced because the distance is not that long. I didn't think about affordability much but more safety. The last time I chose a place based on affordability I got mugged* (Respondent – Auckland Park Focus Group, 9 March 2018).

Some students expressed the willingness to pay more on rent to be in a safer neighbourhood: "*Safety is a very big issue for me. We have to look at the cost versus benefit for safety. The cost might be a bit more but there is the benefit of safety. Auckland Park is much safer for me*" (Respondent – Auckland Park Focus Group, 9 March 2018). This view is echoed by a student living in Melville: "*Last year I used to stay in Brixton. It was cheaper but not safe at all. Places in Melville are more expensive than in Brixton but much safer. My safety is a priority*" (Respondent – Melville Focus Group, 16 March 2018).

Despite the proximity, many students experience, or witness muggings close to campus. One student living in Westdene pointed out that "*now that I have to walk it's not safe – I can't even walk with a laptop. There is no transport provided because it is close enough to walk. Most students around here rely on walking and that becomes a security risk*" (Respondent – Westdene Focus Group, 11 May 2018). Indeed, students are constantly exposed to crime, mostly in the form of street muggings:

> *The biggest issue with walking around is the safety concern. Criminals target students and they know we carry devices and they know it's easy picking for them. You don't have any means of protection. Even if you walk in groups, the criminals will come in groups too and rob you* (Respondent – Brixton Focus Group, 2 March 2018).

Another respondent elaborated that:

> *I am a victim. I have recently been robbed. They drove up in a car, I saw the car coming. I wanted to run, but the person I was with just stopped and I had nothing to do… it happened so quickly. You are not always sure if they are armed or not, they prey on our fears and we just hand over our valuables. Some students who are stubborn and refuse are beaten up* (Respondent – Hurst Hill Focus Group, 23 March 2018).

Students adopt several coping strategies because of crime and prefer to walk to campus only during the day. Early mornings, late afternoons and evenings are perceived as high-risk periods for students; at these times of the day, many minimise the amount of walking or choose to walk only in a large group. One student from the Auckland Park Focus Group (9 March 2018) stated: "*During the daytime, I don't feel my safety is threatened. When I walk home late in the afternoon, I am always checking to make sure. During the day I would walk alone but at night I would rather go in groups.*"

The lack of security and the absence of police patrols is a challenge for addressing issues of crime in the areas surrounding the university. One respondent reflected that:

> *We do report muggings to the police, but it is difficult to find the perpetrators because of lack of evidence. These cases are hardly ever solved. There is a lack of police patrol in the area. I have never seen one police car. I don't understand why. Brixton is where students stay, and they must patrol. We are complaining and complaining but they never do anything about it. The first step in trying to stop crime is to patrol, but they don't* (Respondent – Brixton Focus Group, 2 March 2018).

The university, along with local communities, introduced private security patrols, but these tend to be limited to main routes. Students noted that they feel safer when they see the private security patrols. It is important to note that the impact of crime can differ depending on the neighbourhood. The authors survey revealed that 44% (n=367) of students do not feel safe in the area they are residing, whereas 55% (n=367) indicated that they do feel safe. Areas such as Auckland Park and Melville were perceived safer than

areas such as Brixton or Westdene. Participants in all five focus groups expressed the view that the university and police must introduce further measures designed to ensure student safety both on and off-campus. The following Figure 5.6 illustrates a collection of local newspaper headlines detailing the impact of crime on students.

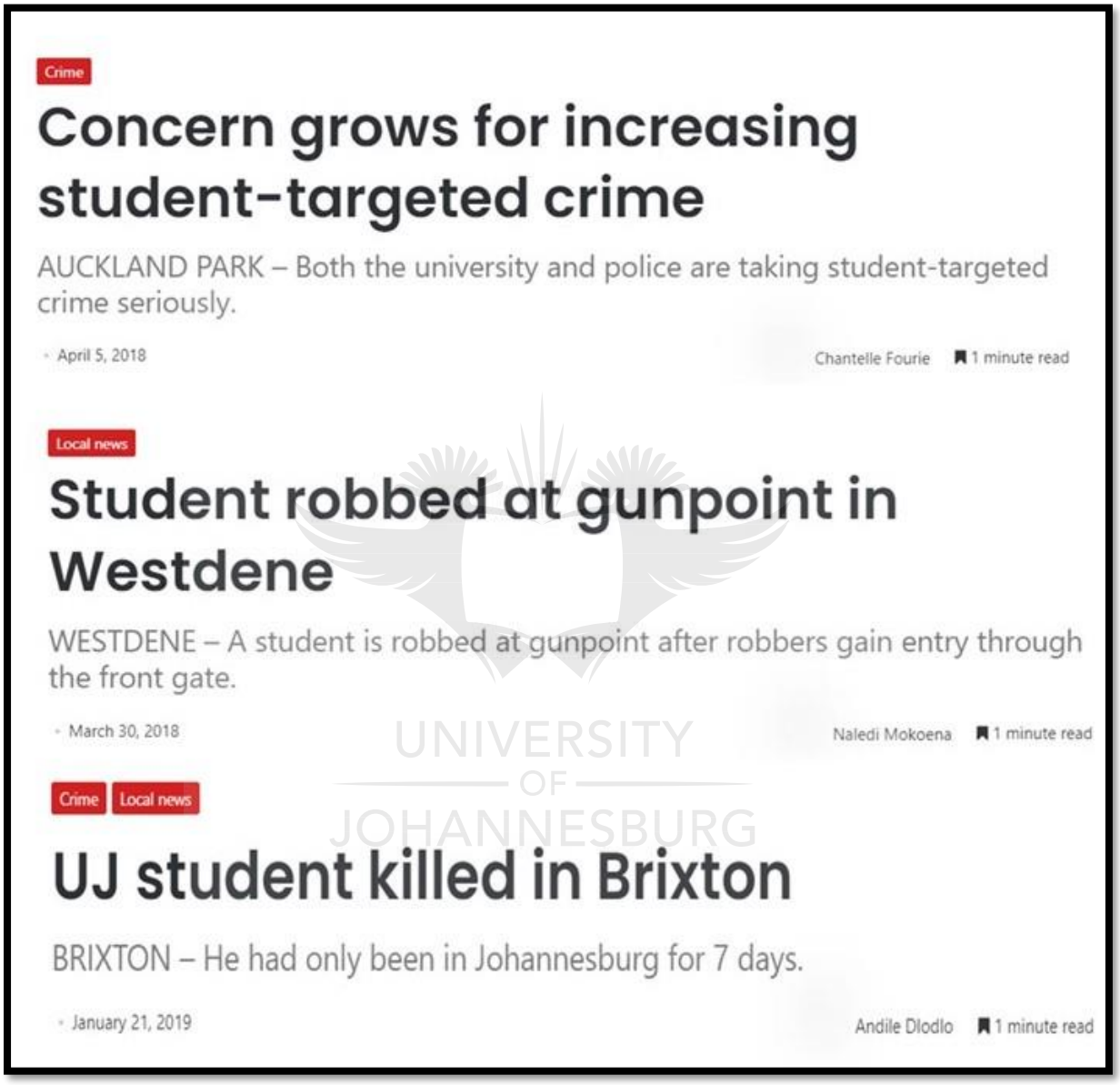

Figure 5.6: Impact of crime on students (Source: Northcliff Melville Times)

Attention now shifts to explore the challenge of inter-personal conflict between students and conflict with neighbours. Interpersonal conflicts between students occur mostly concerning issues of noise disturbances. Inevitably, some students socialise more than others in terms of loud music, talking as well as drinking, and thus disturb other students:

> *In terms of noise, some people are just way out of order and it makes it difficult sometimes. It's all linked to the type of relationship you have with fellow students. Some people bring a whole hi-fi system into their room; even if that door is closed the sound travels. It's like they are sharing their music with you. Sometimes it's distractive and some students can't study with loud music. It forces students to stay on campus and to stay late to have a Wi-Fi connection and quiet time to study, but issues come in with safety having to walk back late evening* (Respondent – Auckland Park Focus Group, 9 March 2018).

Another respondent observed:

> *A lot of communes allow parties. The problem is we don't know each other's schedules, so me and my friends could be planning a party on the weekend and someone might be writing a test on Monday. That makes it hard. It makes it also easily distracting for students to join in parties. Guys were drinking in their room. And later they decided to run down the passage and kick people's doors. So, imagine trying to study when something like that is going on* (Respondent – Westdene Focus Group, 11 May 2018).

The group of accredited communes have stricter house rules and regulations than non-accredited communes, with some not allowing alcohol. Certain non-accredited communes have relaxed house rules and students can party and drink at these types of communes. It must be acknowledged that interpersonal relationships within communes are not always strained. In many communes, students adhere to rules and regulations with respect for each other:

> *We are chilled, and we get along and we share many things. I don't have problems with them. We respect each other's privacy and respect each other's study times. We don't play music whenever. We play music when we all agree* (Respondent – Auckland Park Focus Group, 9 March 2018).

The author's survey revealed that 67% of students (n=362) indicated that they do get along with their non-student neighbours. Despite this, the focus groups revealed that tension and conflict do occur with non-student neighbours largely because of parties and excessive noise disturbance (Respondents – Auckland Park Focus Group, 9 March 2018; Melville Focus Group, 16 March 2018). A student explains:

> *Around us, it is hard to distinguish between communes and normal residences. The normal residents are always angry at us because of noise, so we don't generally get along. The one family claims they were threatened by drunk students once because the parties do get out of control sometimes. So, they come and shout and then they just report us. They also do sometimes call the cops on us when there is a loud party* (Respondent – Auckland Park Focus Group, 9 March 2018).

In many cases, non-student neighbours complain to commune owners or in extreme cases phone the police. In particular, the groups of non-accredited and illegal communes generate more conflict with non-student neighbours because of lax regulation and minimal house rules. Students who live in accredited properties account for less community tension and conflict than those students living in non-accredited or illegal communes. In many instances, the conflict between students and residents' results in a complete breakdown of neighbourliness. This said it was revealed that relationships between neighbours and students vary geographically, with the consensus that areas such as Brixton are more welcoming of students as compared to Auckland Park or Melville (Respondents – Brixton Focus Group, 2 March 2018; Melville Focus Group, 16 March 2018). The following section of this chapter explores the perspectives and experiences of residents on the impact of communes on the residential areas surrounding the university.

5.4 COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVES AND IMPACT OF COMMUNES

The growth in the number of communes in residential areas surrounding the University of Johannesburg's Auckland Park Kingsway campus has been met with frustration and resistance from the community. This is largely attributed to the negative impacts associated with student communes. This section of the chapter explores the various challenges that are linked to student communes in residential areas surrounding the university. There is a focus on the social, economic, and physical impacts associated with student communes. Furthermore, aspects of community frustration are explored surrounding the lack of by-law enforcement in dealing with the negative impacts associated with communes.

Based on empirical findings this research revealed that one of the greatest challenges linked to communes is lack of regulation and poor management. The overall lack of regulation in recent years has created the environment in which opportune investors acquire properties for commune conversion. There is the recognition that this is stimulated by a growing demand for accommodation for students and other transient population groups seeking affordable accommodation near the university and the city (Interview, Auckland Park Resident's Association Member, 14 August 2017). However, the growth of the commune housing market has largely been tainted by exploitative landlords and poorly managed properties. Since the late 2000s, the City of Johannesburg has recognised the importance of regulating commune housing with the release of its commune policy in 2009 (City of Johannesburg, 2009). This policy stipulates strict rules and regulations that commune owners must abide with. Despite this, over the past decade, the implementation and enforcement of this policy have fallen short (Interview, Chairperson, Department of Development Planning, City of Johannesburg, 9 December 2018).

Both the city's commune policy and the university's private student accommodation policy states that a caretaker must be appointed to manage the commune if the owner is not able to do so themselves (City of Johannesburg, 2009; University of Johannesburg, 2016). It was found that with most legal and university accredited communes, the owners have appointed a caretaker or commune manager to act as a custodian and to take responsibility for the student tenants and their actions (Interview, Head of Private Student Accommodation, University of Johannesburg, 1 March 2018). All accredited communes are required to have signage with the contact details of the caretaker or owner. This enables residents to contact the caretaker or owner if there are any forms of disturbance (Interview, Councillor for Ward 87, 13 July 2017).

The challenges associated with absent landlordism and poor management are more pronounced at non-accredited and illegal communes. The councillor for Ward 87 (Interview, 13 July 2017) reflects on the challenges of illegal communes and states that *"illegal communes are not only a nuisance to neighbours, but they are also a danger to students and bad for property values in the suburb".* The chairperson for the Department of Development Planning states that some commune owners cannot be traced, making it

difficult for the city to enforce compliance and prosecution (Interview, 9 December 2018). The chairperson provides an example of a case:

> *[Illegal commune owners] just tend to do what they want to do. We have some real rogues in the business… who live offshore. One character has been looked for by Interpol and a warrant for arrest, he has something like 20 properties, mostly [illegal] communes – but essentially, they are just filing cabinets for people, really the most inhumane conditions and this is something that needs to be dealt with by the city*.

Interviews with various members from resident's associations surrounding the university revealed that communes are not regulated and are poorly managed by absent property owners. Communes are associated with "*uninvolved property owners*" and "*lack of proper management*" (Interview, Melville Resident's Association Member, 18 August 2017a). The councillor for Ward 87 (Interview, 13 July 2017) echoes this sentiment and states: "*I think it has been poorly managed, the University and the City of Johannesburg could have done things differently*". The Department of Development Planning (Interview, 9 December 2018) recognises that *"the integration of students or other transient tenants into family-oriented neighbourhoods have been badly managed and this produces contested social spaces*". The chairperson of the Auckland Park Resident's Association (Interview, 10 August 2017) states that "*from the broader community's perspective it's not welcome. People don't welcome student housing because it's poorly managed*".

There is a recognition that students are not directly to blame for the challenges associated with communes, but it is the commune owners that should be held accountable for the mismanagement of their properties. A member from the Brixton Community Forum (Interview, 4 October 2018) argues that "*it is not managing the students, per se, but managing the landowners, they are more of a problem than the students. We are trying to get the city to acknowledge this. The problem is owners putting students into the property and then abandoning it and just taking the money, so there is no maintenance. It's holding property owners accountable!*" Another Brixton resident posts: *"it comes down to the fact that landlords are often making a lot of money from problematic properties at the expense of those who live in the commune and [the residents] around it. We need to hold landlords accountable"* (Brixton Community Facebook Group, 2017). Overall, there is a call from

residents that landlords should be held more accountable for the mismanagement of their properties.

A perception exists that many commune owners and caretakers of such properties do not attempt to integrate into the community and do not get involved with the resident's association or other community initiatives. Many commune owners do not necessarily live in the area, thus there is less concern over the impact of their communes. Some residents feel that this contributes to a lack of accountability on the part of the commune owners. Residents often see commune owners as opportunist investors from *"outside the community"*, acquiring properties for the sole purpose of converting them into communes with no vested interest in the community beyond maximising personal profit. The mismanagement of some communes has led to a much broader and negative perception that has tarnished the commune housing market. Most communes, even ones that are legal and professionally managed are subjected to community resentment. Furthermore, the mismanagement of communes exacerbates tension and conflict in the community between residents, commune owners and students (Interview, Auckland Park Resident's Association Member, 14 August 2017; Interview, Melville Resident's Association Member, 18 August 2017b).

It is important to note that university accredited communes are in most cases better managed with stricter regulations and house rules in place. Accredited communes run the risk of losing their accreditation if they do not abide by the City of Johannesburg's and the University's regulations (Interview, Head of Private Student Accommodation, University of Johannesburg, 1 March 2018). It is, however, the growth of unregulated and illegal communes where the impact of the student and other transient population groups are felt most acutely.

It is evident from the discussion above that communities surrounding the university are frustrated by absent landlords, poorly managed communes, and ineffective regulation of this housing market. This is largely due to the challenges surrounding by-law enforcement, which will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter. Attention now shifts to explore the various social, economic, and physical impacts associated with communes located in residential areas surrounding the university.

The impact of university accredited, non-accredited or illegal communes is diverse and will differ depending on the context of where the commune is located and how it is managed. The findings from this section outline recurring themes and provide an overview of the impact of student communes in the residential areas surrounding the University of Johannesburg's Auckland Park Kingsway campus. Table 5.2 provides a summary on some of the key social, economic, and physical impacts associated with student communes in residential areas near the university.

Table 5.2: Impact of student communes

Social impact	*Impact of student lifestyle (parties, loud music, alcohol consumption).* *Increased tension, conflict and anger, loss of neighbourliness.* *Direct and indirect displacement.* *Perception of increased crime.* *Increased pedestrian activity and vibrancy.*
Economic impact	*Property and rental values (depending on the context, over-inflated or depreciated).* *Impact on retail and other services*
Physical impact	*Infrastructural (water and electricity supply)* *Overcrowding* *Increased traffic and parking issues* *Aesthetic decline*

(Source: Interviews and Social Media Content Analysis).

5.4.1 Social impact

It was found that certain aspects of the student lifestyle conflict with the lifestyle of non-student residents. This in turn can cause tension and conflict between residents and students. Some of the challenges highlighted by residents include noisy parties and anti-social behaviour. The following quotes reflect on the experiences of residents:

> *Many parties start on a Wednesday, a public holiday or before a weekend. In some cases, the police have visited 6 times and the music is still going and the partygoers are just aimlessly breaking bottles, burning branches and boxes in bonfires and*

pissing in the street in a drunken haze. I have seen students tearing down the front gate off the commune they live in, across the street from me. Just because they were drunk or bored or high or something. I have found human excrement in the flowerbeds on the pavement after street parties. It's a constant onslaught (I love Melville Facebook Group, 2017).

I'm somewhat noise sensitive. I can't help it. I feel like I'm under attack. I feel like the only way I am going to get a tiny bit of peace is to fight all the time. I am tired of fighting. I just want to live in peace. I don't mean silence. I just mean normalcy. I could handle one or two noisy neighbours, but this? We are not unreasonable but loud shrieking and parties on weeknights long after 11 pm and on weekends after midnight. [I am] beginning to think we made a bad mistake by moving here (I love Melville Facebook Group, 2015).

Several other residents recall their experiences: *"the students are driving me crazy with the noise they are making… the owner does not answer her phone and the police aren't doing much! I'm so sick of not sleeping at night!"* (Brixton Community Facebook Group, 2015). A member from the Brixton Community Forum explains: *"we don't have visitors over the weekend, because when students start making noise, we can't even hear each other in the house. So, when they start making noise, we end up leaving our house to go visit family and come back at a certain time. We are essentially escaping our property because of the noise".*

A resident in Westdene details their experience of living next door to an illegal student commune:

We had 10 students living in a 3-bedroom house next door who would have loud booze and drug-fuelled parties every Thursday, Friday, Saturday, and most Sundays, until the very early hours. One morning the party ended at 6 am after one of their guests rolled their vehicle taking our corner too fast. Along with the constant foul language, fighting and sex in the garden, which my young children were exposed to most days. Metro police and SAPS were called every weekend and finally, they threatened the landlord with further action as he had no permission to run a commune and they moved out" (I love Westdene Facebook Group, 2015).

These quotes reveal a strong link between the impact of excessive noise and parties and the lack of management at certain communes. It is important to note that the experiences documented above are some of the most extreme cases, which mostly stem from illegal or non-accredited communes. Absentee landlords and the overall lack of law enforcement exacerbates the impact of student communes. Some residents blame the university and city for the proliferation of non-accredited and illegal communes and that not enough is being done by the institution or the city to enforce by-laws such as excessive noise pollution and overcrowding. The impact of parties and noise pollution has contributed to increased tension between residents and students, in many cases, it has resulted in conflict, and contributed to the loss of neighbourliness. For one resident *"students form part of a transient population group and have no vested interest in the area and that causes social friction with existing residents"* (Interview, Melville Resident's Association Member, 18 August 2017a).

A member from the Brixton Community Forum (Interview, 2 October 2018) reflects:

> *I've had several confrontations with students from the two [illegal] communes across the road from me. When they disrespect my mom, I go out. When they have parties, they give out notices down the street but not our house. So, if someone complains, they accuse us of that, and they intimidate my mom. What they will do now is when they are having parties, they come and break their bottles in front of our door. I've had confrontations with them when I walk out, they walk in. A complete breakdown of good neighbourliness. They just feel like they are entitled to do whatever they want to do.*

The chairperson of the Auckland Park Residents Association (Interview, 10 August 2017) states: *"I have experienced conflict with students. One was a domestic violence confrontation in a house up the road. Drinking on the streets, public drinking and breaking of beer bottles. They are usually in public space. They are usually on the sidewalks, which can lead to interaction and confrontation with other residents".* A member from the Brixton Community Forum (Interview, 4 October 2018) also noted that in Brixton *"there are isolated incidents of public drinking from parked cars in the street – visitors will arrive in cars and then have a boot bar, street party, with loud music and drinking".*

The growth of the commune market and the social impact of (mostly unregulated and illegal) communes, such as excessive parties and noise pollution can be noted as a destabilising factor within many areas surrounding the university. This has, directly and indirectly, pushed residents to move to escape the negative social impacts associated with communes. An interview with a member from the Brixton Community Forum (Interview, 2 October 2018) revealed:

> *I know of a couple that moved. It was unbearable for them. They had a baby and the ongoing parties and then conflict with students was just too much. They would go across the street to ask them to turn the music down and they would just make it louder. The owner of the commune just did not care, he would be part of the party. On Putnam Road, if there are eight houses on the street, four of them have been converted into student accommodation and the other residents are starting to move out because they just cannot handle it*.

This is echoed by another member of the Brixton Community Forum (Interview, 4 October 2018) who explains: *"some people have given up and sold their properties because of communes and the way it is managed, this is what happened on the western side of Brixton, close to Hurst Hill. People just moved out. It has changed drastically demographically. There are a few people left of the old Brixton, which were white working-class residents"*. Another resident in Melville posts: *"I've had people telling me "just move". Believe me, we are looking. It's sad to have to find a new home and disinvest in an area I've loved and lived in all my life"* (I love Melville Facebook Group, 2017).

Attention now shifts to unpack the challenge of crime in the residential areas surrounding the University of Johannesburg. Some residents draw a link between the presence of students and communes with an increase in certain types of crime. Students and communes are easy targets for criminals. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the growing student population and proliferation of student communes have stimulated certain types of crime, particularly street muggings, home invasions and break-ins.

A Brixton Community Forum Member (Interview, 2 October 2018) details the type of crime that students and communes are susceptible to:

> *The crime was not as bad as it is now. Students are such easy targets and they attract crime to the area. They make themselves targets, walking in the street on their*

devices. They display that they have got all these devices. There was this commune where 15 guys went in there and they stabbed the one boy and they cleaned them out. [Criminals] watch the communes and their routine of how many people go in and out and they hit at the right time. The one commune across the road from me has been cleaned out twice. The number of students that have been robbed coming to and from campus is a regular occurrence. Street robberies are usually with a car that pulls up next to students and robs them. The trauma behind it for these students is the worst thing.

Many student communes lack stringent security making them susceptible to house break-ins and the pedestrian nature of students exposes them to a greater risk of mugging. A resident in Brixton posts: *"my neighbours, a student commune had just been robbed earlier tonight – held up with firearms, they took laptops, cell phones and wallets from all the students living there"* (Brixton Community Facebook Group, 2015). Instances of street muggings are common in areas surrounding the university. Another Brixton resident cautions that *"students or pedestrians, in general, should not walk visibly with electronic devices such as phones, tablets or laptops. But this will not stop muggers, knowing that most people do carry a device. Two years ago, I assisted a UJ student who was shot outside our house for his cell phone. He missed months of university and almost lost his life"* (Brixton Community Facebook Group, 2015). In Westdene a resident shared: *"attempted mugging of students last night outside my gate, heard screaming in the street, went to look through the crack in my gate to see what was going on, saw two hooded individuals attempting to rob two students. I shouted HEY! – the muggers got a big fright, cocked their gun and took a leisurely walk up toward Empire road"* (I Love Westdene Facebook Group, 2017).

Non-student residents feel that commune owners and students tend to be uninvolved and do not participate in local community security initiatives. For example, students are not on local community WhatsApp groups where incidents or issues surrounding crime are discussed. Many commune owners do not necessarily live in the area they own communes and are detached from community initiatives linked to crime prevention.

Some residents blame the university for the perceived increase in crime; "*UJ caused this problem by not providing enough accommodation for its students, UJ must solve this problem! Our area is going downhill because of all the criminals in the area that come after*

the soft targets – students walking to class and communes where there is no security" (I love Westdene Facebook Group, 2017). The university, however, has introduced private security patrols, but these only cover main routes. The impact of crime in the areas surrounding the university is also compounded by the lack of visible policing from the Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department (JMPD) and the South African Police Services (SAPS).

One positive social impact noted by some residents is that they feel students contribute to increased pedestrian activity in the area and this adds social vibrancy to neighbourhoods. Some feel that increased pedestrian activity lessens the risk of house break-ins as it is a form of public policing. A Brixton Community Forum Member (Interview, 4 October 2018) underscores: *"students certainly contribute to street life in Brixton, it keeps the area vibrant and there are always people on the street. It does contribute to a sense of public policing because there are more feet on the street"* this said, they also highlight the risk: *"at the same time it makes people more vulnerable as people on street are targeted, it also brings a lot of crime".*

5.4.2 Economic impact

The demand for student housing and the conversion of properties into communes impacts the property values of residential areas surrounding the University of Johannesburg's Auckland Park Kingsway campus. Depending on the context, in some cases, it has over-inflated the value of certain properties and in others led to the depreciation of values. It was noted that properties that have three or more bedrooms and more than one bathroom are ideal for commune conversion. Such properties reach a much higher value than properties with, for example, one bathroom. If a property is already converted into a commune it also has a much higher value than an unconverted property. Properties that are located near communes and that do not have the potential for commune conversion, can see their value depreciated. It has been noted that families are reluctant to have a student commune as a neighbour and are less likely to invest in a property next to a commune.

The presence of communes in an area also impacts the local rental market. The rental rates for students are often per person and per room sharing, thus investors can achieve a much higher rental return from a commune, as opposed to renting a property out to a single-family. This contributes to exclusion, displacement, and replacement of families with students as much higher rental rates can be achieved from the student market. A Brixton Community Forum member (Interview, 4 October 2018) explains the impact of communes on the property and rental market.

> *The property prices and the rental rates have gone up due to the demand for student housing and some families cannot afford that. A landlord can make more money by renting it out to students than to a family – because they are charging per room sharing. This leads to the exclusion of families or others from entering the property market or to rent in the area. You pay more for a property that has the potential to be converted into a commune. You pay for the number of bathrooms as this determines how many people can live on the property. If you have three bathrooms, you can get eight to ten students per property. If you have a student commune next to you, you will find your property is lower in price, because people are wary of what comes with a commune. Some places are advertised with 10 bedrooms, and if you put two people into a room at R2,000 per person, sometimes R1,500, it is still a lot of money. They are making 20/25 thousand Rands per month. People that are not willing to rent out their property to students are lucky if they get R8,000 per month.*

The growth of a student population has also impacted local retail and services. It has been noted that some shops have altered their offerings to cater to the student market. In terms of formal retailing, the Campus Square Shopping Centre in Auckland Park has a strong student market focus, despite this, it also serves the broader community, and it cannot be argued that it exclusively caters to students. In Brixton, it was also noted that there are some examples of informal vendors in the form of tuck shops or spaza shops as they are known in South Africa that cater to the needs of students and other transient groups. The night-time or entertainment economy is largely concentrated in Melville, which has several establishments that cater to students such as Stones and Ballerz night club.

Overall, there is a recognition that students contribute to the local economy as they do have purchasing power. For example, in Brixton *"the [community forum] tries to look at*

student housing as positive, as it brings in a lot of money in the area, there is a lot of support for smaller businesses" (Interview, Brixton Community Forum Member, 4 October 2018). Attention now shifts to explore some of the physical impacts associated with student communes in residential areas surrounding the University of Johannesburg.

5.4.3 Physical impact

The increase of a student population and lack of infrastructural upgrades to sustain a larger population has negatively impacted some of the residential areas surrounding the university. Commune conversions sees low density single-family properties, which normally house four or five occupants, being increased to between eight to ten occupants per property. The councillor for Ward 87 (Interview, 13 July 2017) explains that the city limits the number of communes at 20% per residential area. Thus only 20% of properties in a residential area can be communes. She explains *"the reason why the city has set a quota of 20% for communes is to avoid town planning issues and whole suburbs becoming student housing. That would create serious infrastructural issues".* The proliferation of illegal communes, however, means that in some areas the number of communes has passed the 20% limit.

One of the biggest concerns regarding infrastructural capacity is linked to water and electricity supply. The ageing infrastructure has not been upgraded to keep up with growing demand. The challenge of overcrowding, particularly at illegal communes are putting significant stress on water and electricity supply. Some of the infrastructural impacts are linked to water shortages, electricity cuts, illegal electricity connections, pressure on the sewage system and increased refuse and dumping. Figure 5.7 illustrates this concern. The following is noted by a member of the Brixton Community Forum: *"it has impacted on the infrastructure in Brixton. The growth in population in the area has impacted the water supply of the neighbourhood. If you take a normal three-bedroom house and convert it into a ten-bedroom commune the impact on ageing water and electricity supply is high… it cannot handle it"* (Interview, 2 October 2018).

Figure 5.7: Impact of communes on infrastructure (Source: Northcliff Melville Times)

Other challenges that have significantly impacted the physical environment include increased traffic and parking issues surrounding communes. Residential areas generally do not have a lot of off-street parking available. Whilst not a lot of student's own cars, they do have visitors that would park in the street. Communes are often perceived to contribute to the aesthetic decline of an area. A member from the Brixton community forum (Interview, 4 October 2018) notes that *"the overall quality and aesthetics of properties in some cases have declined"*. This is evident with the physical downgrading of housing stock, disregard for heritage features, lack of property maintenance, unkempt pavements, and gardens. A resident in Brixton notes that it is *"sad to see how a complete solid house gets butchered up so that the house can be rented out per room to students"* (Brixton Community Facebook Group, 2015). This is echoed by another resident that claims: *"they are messing up some beautiful old houses. It's not nice to see how these slumlords gut these beautiful houses with heyday features... wooden floors, hard wooden doors and pressed ceilings – and then "renovate" these houses with cheap tile and kitchen specials from Builders Warehouse"* (Brixton Community Facebook Group, 2015). This links with the cheap and standardised conversion of many communes where original features are removed. Another resident points out: *"I wish the student accommodation mafia would start respecting the heritage and integrity of the homes in [Brixton]"* (Brixton Community Facebook Group, 2015).

Many cases of illegal building and extensions are noted, which do not adhere to city by-laws and national building regulations. These illegal buildings and extensions compromise the architectural and aesthetic appeal of neighbourhoods. Refer to Figure 5.8 for an example of this. In Brixton, a resident explains that *"we have a neighbour who has built illegally, 90% of the property has been converted into bedrooms. We have reported it to the inspectors, councillor, but no action has been taken. They don't enforce the laws"* (Brixton Community Facebook Group, 2017). A similar experience is shared by another resident: *"our neighbour has built over 85% of his property, 10 cm away from our wall. When students talk, we can hear them in our bedroom. No plans! No agreement or permission from neighbours! We followed due process and logged it with city officials… and guess what? Fokol happened!"* (Brixton Community Facebook Group, 2017). By-law infringements have also been noted in Melville: *"there are a lot of illegal land use infringements linked to student housing in the Melville area and this is because of failing law enforcement. It can take up to 5 or 6 years to take legal action against illegal commune owners"* (Interview, Melville Residents Association Member, 18 August 2017a).

Figure 5.8: Property extended for student commune housing, Brixton (Source: Author)

5.4.4 Law enforcement and community resistance

The City of Johannesburg's Department of Urban Development Planning are the custodians and regulators of the commune policy (City of Johannesburg, 2009). Despite an existing policy environment for the regulation of communes in Johannesburg, the implementation thereof has fallen short. The chairperson of this department (Interview, 9 December 2018) critically reflects on this:

> *The commune policy has not been successful from the point of enforcement. There have been a lot of complaints from residents that are affected by communes and the mismanagement thereof. So, while the policy is relatively good, it probably needs some review regularly as things change. When I came to the city a few years ago, I was flabbergasted with the lack of enforcement. We are good at writing letters and doing the initial part of the contravention process but beyond that, we are incredibly weak.*

Various factors contribute to the lack of enforcement. The building inspector has an important role to play in reporting illegal commune activity. Corruption at the inspector level, however, is suspected and there is the suggestion that some building inspectors accept bribes for "turning a blind eye" to by-law infringements. Lack of capacity and follow through at the office of the building control officer is another challenge. Furthermore, the city council is sitting with a backlog of legal processes. Overall, it has been noted that corruption, lack of capacity and poor communication constraints by-law enforcement in the City of Johannesburg (Interview, Chairperson Department of Urban Development Planning, 9 December 2018). The councillor for Ward 87 (Interview, 13 July 2017) states that the city is not efficient in dealing with illegal communes and underscores the re-establishment of the municipal courts as a possible solution to prosecute landowners for illegal land use.

Residents are frustrated with the inability of the city to effectively deal with the challenges related to communes. As one member from the Brixton Community Forum explains: *"the city puts these policies in place, but they are failing to address these issues… noise, overcrowding, which is a by-law infringement, and they cannot deal with it. There is no capacity"* (Interview, 4 October 2018). In Melville, a resident voiced their frustration: *"there's been talk of prosecuting illegal commune landlords since 2011 and yet it never*

happens. I just want to see something happen. The landlords are in the wrong, and they should have to face consequences. I cannot be the only one that wants to see something happen with regards to the communes and businesses that operate without any regard for by-laws or their neighbours" (I love Melville Facebook Group, 2017). Another Melville resident shares their experience: *"bylaws are worthless and though police might choose to respond, their influence is minimal, they never confiscate sound equipment or fine anyone. Collecting reference numbers seems to get you nowhere. I have been collecting reference numbers for 6 years. The city bylaw inspectors or building inspectors you beg to come and inspect for illegal land use and they just don't respond or have any effect"* (I love Melville Facebook Group, 2017). The lengthy procedure in dealing with illegal commune activity is reflected in Figure 5.9.


Local news

Nearly a decade-long fight against illegal communes

WESTDENE – No one understands the problem of illegal communes better than perhaps Dauw Steyn of the Westdene-Sophiatown Residents Association. We sat down with him to discuss the issue.

May 12, 2018 Chantelle Fourie 2 minutes read

Figure 5.9: Challenges of law enforcement (Source: Northcliff Melville Times)

Similar views are expressed in Auckland Park: "*the city and police are supposed to ensure some sort of controls, but we all know they are under-resourced and terribly slow. There is a need for a grand plan for the suburb with all stakeholders involved, but I think our resident's association is too small and too tired to do that. The municipality cannot deal with issues of by-law infringement*" (Interview, Auckland Park Residents Association Member, 15 August 2017). Another member from the Auckland Park Residents Association (Interview 14 August 2017) hints at corruption at the inspector level and explains: *"I've got a suspicion that there is still a lot of corruption in the municipality. I for one suspect that the [building] inspector is corrupt to the bone. He must be corrupt. Every*

time we get him out to come and inspect the illegal communes nothing happens. He is the building inspector! He is taking money and turning a blind eye!"

The first point of action in dealing with by-law infringements linked to illegal land-use or public nuisance is to report it to either the South African Police Services (SAPS) or the Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department (JMPD). In most cases, JMPD deals with issues linked to by-law infringement. The councillor for Ward 87 (Interview, 13 July 2017) encourages residents to report illegal communes to the JMPD and to collect reference numbers of these reports. These referenced reports can be used as evidence to prosecute the property owners of illegal communes.

Overall, there is a general feeling among residents that there is a lack of accountability and that the city and police lack the proper capacity to prosecute by-law infringements. The frustrations linked to lack of law enforcement have stimulated some resistance and efforts by resident's associations to mitigate the impact of communes, particularly illegal communes.

Most of the residential areas surrounding the university have active resident's associations. These associations are made up of resident volunteers who organise and oppose significant changes within their neighbourhoods. The increase of student communes over the past two decades has stimulated efforts to regulate and control their growth. In some cases, there is complete resistance and objection against the establishment of communes. The frustration is borne out of the poor management of communes and the number of illegally operated communes. For example, the Westdene Resident's Association first wants to see the high number of illegal communes regulated before any new applications are granted by the city.

These resident's associations have dedicated volunteers who keep track of the number of communes and commune applications in each area, tracing the owners and following up whether there have been commune license applications for these properties. These lists are regularly updated and shared with the city and local councillor. An example of this in Brixton: *"We are trying to cut down on the number of illegal communes. We have walked the area and conducted an audit to find out the number of illegal communes, and to find out how many people are in a commune. We then compare it to the UJ list, and we have matched who is on that list and who is not. We have picked up more than a hundred communes that*

are not listed [on UJs list of accredited housing suppliers]" (Interview, Brixton Community Forum Member, 4 October 2018).

To deal with problematic landlords, the Brixton Community Forum (BCF) launched a project intending to establish a better relationship with the owners of student accommodation in the area. The Brixton Community Forum encourages greater dialogue between the community and owners of student accommodation. They aim to have greater community involvement during the conversion and development of properties for student housing. Greater dialogue between owners of student accommodation ensures that issues surrounding the management of communes can be easily reported and dealt with the owner. The Brixton Community Forum have recognised that the mismanagement of communes is mostly linked to non-accredited or illegal communes. Thus, they try not to alienate commune owners who are accredited but rather try to establish a relationship (Interview, Brixton Community Forum Member, 4 October 2018). In other areas and particularly in Westdene there has been a greater resistance with almost all commune applications rejected by the resident's association (I love Westdene Facebook Group, 2017).

The resident's associations are limited with their impact and are mostly reactive to challenges as they arise. These associations rely on a small group of volunteers and this causes capacity challenges. There are the limitations of time and financial constraints of legal action to take on the owners of illegal communes and the city. Despite their best efforts and widespread community objection, the proliferation of illegal communes continues.

Some residents are in favour of the development of purpose-built student accommodation as a panacea for solving the challenges linked to communes (Interview, Auckland Park Resident's Association Member, 14 August 2017; Interview, Melville Resident's Association Member, 18 August 2017b). There is the perception that purpose-built student accommodation is better managed than student communes. It is believed that the concentration and containment of students in purpose-built student accommodation will significantly reduce or concentrate the impact associated with students (Interview, Chairperson, Auckland Park Resident's Association, 10 August 2017). A representative from the Melville Resident's Association (Interview, 18 August 2017b) explains that "*with better property management and development of purpose-built*

or reconverted student housing (such as South Point), could see the drop-in crime and better community relations as opposed to having illegal communes". Another Melville resident posts: "*students need accommodation and I for one would rather have them in an organised building where they can be disciplined and controlled rather than in hundreds of communes*" (I love Melville Facebook Group, 2018). The growth of the purpose-built and retrofitted student accommodation market in Johannesburg is explored in the next chapter.

5.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter aimed to understand the impact of first-wave studentification with the growth of multi-occupation student communes in residential areas surrounding the University of Johannesburg's Auckland Park campus. On the supply-side, concerning motivations surrounding the development of such properties it was revealed that investors in Johannesburg favour student communes most importantly for the projectable income and greater return on investment as compared to renting to traditional families. It was found that investors in this market can achieve a much higher rental return from multiple student occupants than from a single-family.

The most distinctive aspect of the making of studentified spaces in Johannesburg relates to the influential role of the national government's funding assistance programme, which was introduced to support the tertiary education of students from previously disadvantaged communities. The NSFAS scheme is critical both for investors and for students, as it guarantees direct payment to accommodation suppliers. The long-term sustainability of the NSFAS model is an important factor to be monitored in the studentification of Johannesburg, as well as other South African university centres.

This chapter also focused on the demand-side perspective and student experience. Several motivations for students to reside in multi-occupation properties are linked to affordability, proximity and safety as key location considerations. In addition, Johannesburg students expressed wanting to live in areas with a sense of student community, to be surrounded by "people like them" and to be in locations that offer student-oriented services and entertainment. One of the biggest challenges associated

with commune living in Johannesburg is safety concerns. Students living within close proximity to campus mostly walk and this has made them susceptible to muggings. The security measures at student communes are also not as stringent and, in some cases, these properties have become targets of home invasion and break-ins.

This chapter unpacked the diverse impacts associated with houses in multiple occupation, which contributes to neighbourhood change and impacts the lives of non-student residents. One of the biggest challenges is linked to the poor management of some communes, particularly those that operate as non-accredited and illegal communes. Three major impacts associated with houses in multiple occupation were identified and include, social, economic, and physical. The social impacts are mostly associated with the conflicting lifestyles of students and non-student residents with issues of partying and noise pollution the most common. This leads to increased tension and in some cases conflict between residents and students. Instances of indirect and direct displacement have been found, and they are mostly linked to the conflicting lifestyles.

It was found that the economic impacts include the over-inflation of certain property values and rental rates, especially those for potential communes. In some cases, the depreciation of property values is evident due to proximity to non-accredited or illegal communes. It was found that students do contribute to the local economy and support retail and other services. The physical impact of student communes is mostly linked to the aesthetic character of certain areas being compromised. The conversion of communes can see the removal of period features and property extensions that do not fit with the architectural integrity of a property. Furthermore, houses in multiple occupation have increased the population of many residential areas surrounding the university which puts pressure on ageing infrastructures such as electricity and water supply and the sewage system.

The various impacts associated with houses in multiple occupation are heightened by the lack of law enforcement from the local authorities. The City of Johannesburg introduced its commune policy in 2009 to mitigate the negative impacts associated with communes. This chapter found that lack of capacity, corrupt inspectors and lack of follow-through are listed as some of the challenges associated with the ineffective implementation of this policy. Public nuisance incidents such as noisy parties and illegal commune conversion with land-use infringements are among the greatest concern for residents. There is

evidence that the police and city officials are ineffective in dealing with by-law infringements linked to illegal communes. This has stimulated community action. Residents associations have been active in collating information and reporting illegal commune activity and objecting to new commune applications. Objections to illegal land-use infringement can take years to resolve, testing the limitations and capacity of the resident's associations who are mostly made up of volunteers. This chapter, however, provides an important overview on the contested social spaces that are produced with houses in multiple occupation in the South African context. The following chapter shifts to explore second-wave studentification in the form of purpose-built and retrofitted student accommodation in Johannesburg.

CHAPTER 6

PURPOSE-BUILT AND RETROFITTED STUDENT ACCOMMODATION IN JOHANNESBURG

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to explore second-wave studentification through documenting the growth and development of purpose-built and retrofitted student accommodation in Johannesburg. The purpose-built and retrofitted student accommodation market is starting to emerge as an attractive and resilient investment opportunity across sub-Saharan Africa (Smith, 2020). According to Jones Lang Lasalle (2016), there is a strong demand for this market with an unprecedented increase in the number of student enrolments across higher education institutions in sub-Saharan Africa. Chibelushi (2017) reports that demand for purpose-built student accommodation is set to exceed 500, 000 beds across sub-Saharan Africa over the next few years. Jones Lang Lasalle (2016) revealed that the purpose-built student accommodation market is at an early developmental stage across sub-Saharan Africa and is between 15-25 years behind the mature markets in the USA and UK. Despite this lag, in emerging economies such as Kenya, Nigeria and South Africa the demand for purpose-built student accommodation is growing rapidly as an alternative investment opportunity. South Africa is seen as a regional hub for higher education and many students (both local and regional) are attracted to cities such as Johannesburg, Pretoria and Cape Town to access quality higher education. This has subsequently led to increased demand for quality student accommodation in South Africa's university towns and cities and it has stimulated the development of purpose-built and retrofitted student accommodation.

In South Africa, there is evidence of a shift from houses in multiple occupation or communes to purpose-built and retrofitted student accommodation in many university towns and cities. In the past, most private student housing was concentrated in low-density residential areas surrounding certain universities in the form of communes. However, from the 2010s there has been the systematic growth of purpose-built student accommodation suppliers across most university towns and cities – a trend first noticed

by Ackermann and Visser (2016). Several national suppliers such as CampusKey, Unilofts, South Point and Respublica have emerged as key players in the provision of purpose-built and retrofitted student accommodation.

Over the past decade and a half, several private investors have retrofitted buildings for student accommodation in the inner-city of Johannesburg. These investors have taken advantage of vacant or depreciated properties located in the inner-city. Student accommodation located in the inner-city of Johannesburg have been largely retrofitted through the conversion of office buildings, hotels, industrial and some residential buildings into dormitory-style student accommodation. The retrofitting of old commercial and residential buildings into student housing contributes to inner-city regeneration, and this is particularly evident in the inner-city of Johannesburg. It can be argued that investment in retrofitting of buildings into student accommodation has the potential to regenerate declining commercial nodes (South African Commercial Property News, 2011; 2012a; 2012b; 2012c). Only a few suppliers have embarked on purpose-built student accommodation in the inner-city of Johannesburg, with examples located in Braamfontein and Doornfontein. Located west of the inner city and near the University of Johannesburg's main campus, Auckland Park has seen several purpose-built student accommodation developments over the past five years.

Several themes are discussed in this chapter. First, a profile of the investors and their motivation for entering this housing market is discussed. This is followed by an overview on the size and spatial distribution of this housing market in Johannesburg. Attention is also given to the types of amenities and services available at this housing option, as well as the rental rates and affordability of this housing market for students. Furthermore, students lived experiences who reside in the inner-city of Johannesburg are explored, with a specific focus on the student district of Braamfontein.

6.2 SUPPLIERS, SCOPE AND GEOGRAPHY

The motivation for entering the student housing market is tied to a projectable and guaranteed income. The return on investment for student accommodation is viewed favourably by investors who are looking for alternative and diversified property assets.

The risk is perceived as low due to an acceleration in demand for tertiary education. Furthermore, this market attracts investment because of the relatively stable income and rental growth it offers. In addition, the high occupancy rates and constant supply of tenants add to its attractiveness. Some of the challenges linked to this market are short leasing cycles (10 months), high turnover rates and intensive property management and maintenance services (Jones Lang Lasalle, 2016).

In South Africa developers and operators have packaged student housing portfolios into real estate investment trusts (REITs) (Williams, 2016). Redefine properties, the second-largest REIT in South Africa was the first REIT to invest in student housing in 2014 after buying 51% of Respublica student housing. Williams (2016) states that property developers and investors are exploring this new and alternative asset class. Mahlaka (2017) reported that Inkunzi student accommodation fund (ISAF) planned to be the first specialist student housing REIT to list on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE). In 2018 ISAF failed to list as it was unable to raise sufficient funds (Anderson, 2018). South Point Properties, a Johannesburg based student housing developer aims to list on the JSE in the next few years (Anderson, 2017; Greve, 2015; Kilian, 2017). Large commercial banks such as Standard Bank, ABSA, First National Bank and Nedbank have partnered with developers and have provided loans for the development of purpose-built (and retrofitted) student accommodation. These transactions signal confidence in the growth of student housing as a recognised asset class in South Africa (Chibelushi, 2017; Jones Lang Lasalle, 2016).

A diverse range of suppliers offer purpose-built and retrofitted student accommodation in Johannesburg. Several large property development and management companies with a diverse property portfolio, have ventured into this housing market. These suppliers operate at economies of scale and offer a high number of bed space for students. South Point Properties are the pioneers of student accommodation in Johannesburg and their property portfolio is largely concentrated in Braamfontein with a focus on retrofitted student accommodation. Another large supplier in Johannesburg is the Africa Housing Company (AFHCO), their focus is mainly on affordable housing and commercial properties, however, more recently they have ventured into student accommodation in the inner-city of Johannesburg. AFHCO is part of SA Corporate Estate Limited, which has REIT listings on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE). They own multiple properties in

the inner-city which have been retrofitted into student accommodation. Other property developing companies that have diversified into this market includes the Feenstra Group with purpose-built student accommodation developments in Auckland Park. Citiq student accommodation is another company that focuses on commercial and student accommodation in Johannesburg and is financially backed by Futuregrowth, a specialist investment company and member of the Old Mutual Investment Group. Apart from large property developers several medium to smaller sized property development and management companies with smaller property portfolios are also present in Johannesburg. Attention now shifts to discuss the size and spatial distribution of this market in Johannesburg.

The analysis of the size and spatial distribution of the purpose-built and retrofitted student accommodation market in Johannesburg was achieved through a comprehensive desktop audit using the University of Johannesburg's accredited student accommodation lists from 2017, 2018, 2019 and 2020, as well as the Wits University list of private accommodation suppliers (2020). These lists, along with an internet-mediated search, helped to create a database to document the number of private student accommodation suppliers, the number of available bed space for students and the geographical location. This audit revealed that there are 48 suppliers offering student accommodation in mostly retrofitted buildings, some suppliers have, however, embarked on purpose-built developments, mostly concentrated in Auckland Park. It is estimated that collectively, these suppliers offer bed space for 25, 460 students. The following Table 6.1 outlines the number of suppliers, their locales and bed space capacity.

Table 6.1: Purpose-built and retrofitted student accommodation suppliers in Johannesburg

Student accommodation suppliers	**Location/s**	**Bed space**
Abraham Kriel Enterprise	Langlaagte	60
AFHCO Property Management	CBD (Marshalltown), Hillbrow and Doornfontein	1909
Blazing Sun Investments	Westdene	74
Blue Moonlight Properties	Westdene	28
Beachway Accommodation	Bosmont	150
Bornfree Investments	Braamfontein	298
Brixton Property Development	Brixton	61

Clarke Student Accommodation	Brixton	60
FASA Properties	Brixton and Hursthill	90
Campbell Bomela	Westdene	24
Campus Africa	CBD (Marshalltown) and Braamfontein	1019
Citiq	Newtown and Brixton	514
City Waldorf	CBD (Marshalltown), Hillbrow and Doornfontein	1900
Consolidated Urban Management	Hillbrow and New Doornfontein	198
Feenstra Group	Auckland Park	1357
Flamingo Services	Doornfontein	150
FTX Investments	Bellevue	50
Gateway Student Accommodation	Doornfontein and Joubert Park	2467
Gezani Investment	Hillbrow	65
Hentom Developments	CBD (Marshalltown)	400
Highlands Urban Living	Highlands	268
KWB Properties	Braamfontein	110
LISPROPCO	Doornfontein	603
Lorana Property	Westdene	72
Louching Steam Investment	Berea	75
Mafadi Management and Letting Sales	Bertrams, Brixton and Doornfontein	400
Mmakola Investments	Hursthill	46
Moonland Trading	Sunnyside	50
NIC Properties	Doornfontein	260
Noskop	New Doornfontein	321
Oakleaf Investment Holdings	Doornfontein	64
Paak Eagle	Bertrams	54
Petraglo - Urban Circle	Doornfontein	1102
Proxisol	Bertrams	220
Pulse Urban Properties	Lorentzville	84
Rapid Dawn	Westdene	20
Respublica Student Living	Braamfontein and Doornfontein	2826
Rusticana Investments	Doornfontein	36
Scarlet Ribbon Properties	Hursthill	234
Seraph Investments	New Doornfontein	300

South Point Property Investments	Braamfontein and Doornfontein	5406
Star Properties	Braamfontein	90
Strathgarden Properties - University Gate	Braamfontein	137
Street Talk - J-One	Braamfontein	252
Student Digz (International Housing Solutions)	Braamfontein	1362
The Methodist Church of SA Wesley Ladies Residence	Bosmont	40
The Willow Tree Trading	Berea	124
Twin Family Trust	Brixton	30
Total number of students accommodated		**25, 460**

(Source: Author).

The inner-city of Johannesburg has emerged as an important space for this housing market. Collectively 26 private student housing accommodation suppliers are located and operate in the inner-city of Johannesburg offering bed space to 21, 678 students. Thus 85% of students are channelled into student accommodation located in the inner-city of Johannesburg. Two clear clusters of student housing emerge in the inner-city (Refer to Figure 6.1). The first, in Braamfontein near Wits University and the second in Doornfontein and New Doornfontein near the University of Johannesburg's Doornfontein Campus.

Table 6.2: Suppliers of student accommodation in the inner-city of Johannesburg

Student accommodation suppliers	**Location/s**	**Bed space**
AFHCO Property Management	CBD (Marshalltown), Hillbrow and Doornfontein	1909
Campus Africa	CBD (Marshalltown) and Braamfontein	1019
Citiq	Newtown	372
City Waldorf	CBD (Marshalltown), Hillbrow and Doornfontein	1900
Consolidated Urban Management	Hillbrow and New Doornfontein	198
Flamingo Services	Doornfontein	150
Gateway Student Accommodation	Doornfontein and Joubert Park	2467
Gezani Investment	Hillbrow	65
Hentom Developments	CBD (Marshalltown)	400
KWB Properties	Braamfontein	110
LISPROPCO	Doornfontein	603
Louching Steam Investment	Berea	75

Mafadi Management and Letting Sales	Doornfontein	130
NIC Properties	Doornfontein	260
Noskop	New Doornfontein	321
Oakleaf Investment Holdings	Doornfontein	64
Petraglo - Urban Circle	Doornfontein	1102
Respublica Student Living	Braamfontein and Doornfontein	2826
Rusticana Investments	Doornfontein	36
Seraph Investments	New Doornfontein	300
South Point Property Investments	Braamfontein and Doornfontein	5406
Star Properties	Braamfontein	90
Strathgarden Properties - University Gate	Braamfontein	137
Street Talk - J-One	Braamfontein	252
Student Digz (International Housing Solutions)	Braamfontein	1362
The Willow Tree Trading	Berea	124
Total number of students accommodated		**21, 678**

(Source: Author).

Within the inner-city, Braamfontein has emerged as an important district for student accommodation and other student lifestyle services. A conservative estimate of over 7,000 students lives in Braamfontein, that equates to 32% of inner-city students residing in this area. Braamfontein is unique as there is evidence of the clustering of various student-related services that go beyond the supply of housing. The growth of Braamfontein as a student district will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter. There are, however, several student accommodation suppliers scattered across parts of the central business district in Marshalltown, Newtown, New Doornfontein, Joubert Park, Hillbrow and Berea (Refer to Figure 6.1).

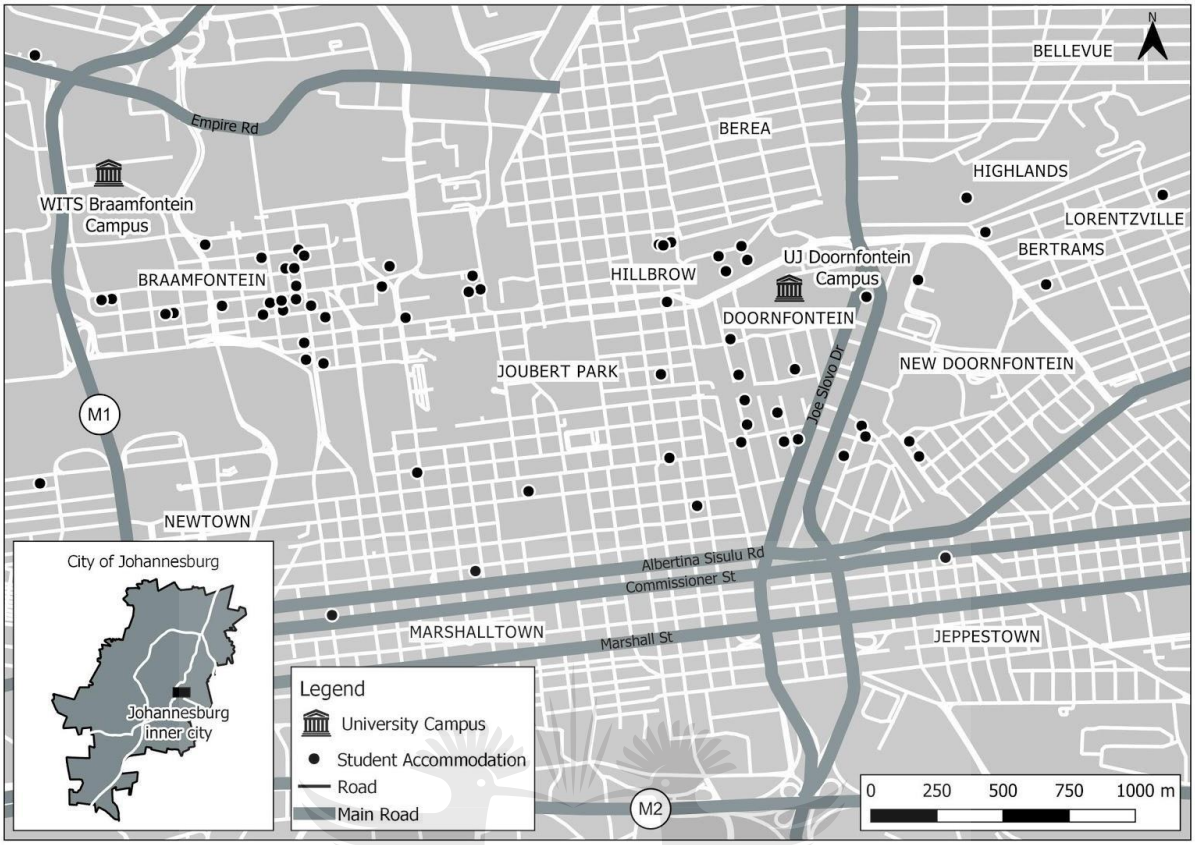

Figure 6.1: Spatial distribution of purpose-built and retrofitted student accommodation in the inner-city of Johannesburg (Source: Author)

Towards the west of the inner-city in residential areas closer to the University of Johannesburg's Auckland Park Kingsway campus there are a few suppliers who offer purpose-built and retrofitted student accommodation (Refer to Figure 6.2). Collectively these suppliers account for around 2, 433 students accommodated in this housing option. This equates to 10% of students accommodated in this housing option in this part of the city. As outlined in the previous chapter, the low-density residential areas surrounding the University of Johannesburg's Auckland Park Kingsway campus are dominated by the student commune market. Auckland Park, however, is emerging as a cluster for purpose-built student accommodation with bed space for 1, 357 students in this housing option. Refer to Figure 6.3 for an example of purpose-built student accommodation in Auckland Park.

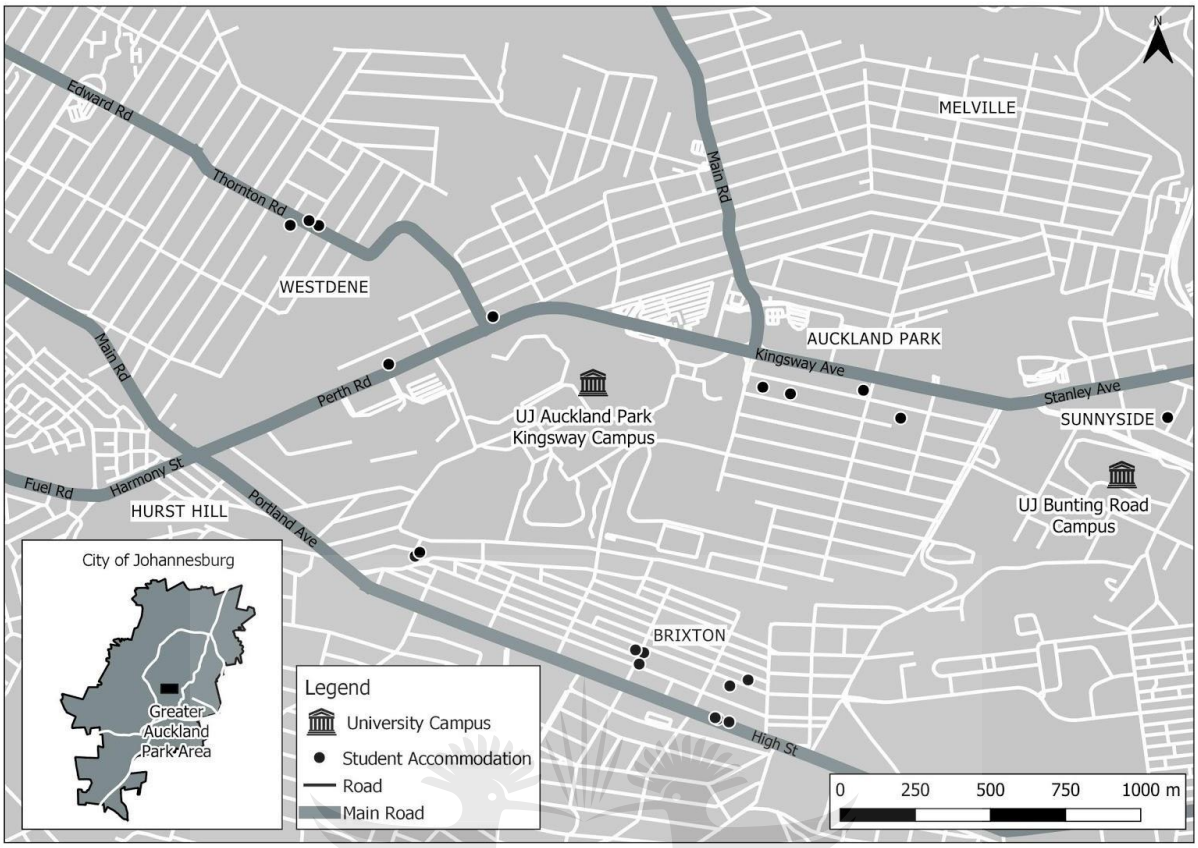

Figure 6.2: Spatial distribution of purpose-built and retrofitted student accommodation in greater Auckland Park (Source: Author)

Figure 6.3: Purpose-built student accommodation in Auckland Park (Source: Author)

6.3 AMENITIES AND SERVICES

Most of the purpose-built and retrofitted student accommodation are dormitory-style and managed as private residences. These private suppliers focus on social, recreational and sports events to recreate a university residence experience for the students. These suppliers must adhere to a strict criterion of required amenities and services set out by the Department of Higher Education and Training (2015), as well as the NSFAS and universities. The universities are mandated to ensure that their accredited suppliers adhere to the regulations as stipulated by the DHET and NSFAS. Given the strict criterion, most accredited suppliers offer a similar range of amenities and services. Some suppliers are aimed at more affluent students, this is reflected in the quality of finishes and range of services. Respublica student accommodation, for example, is aimed at a higher-end market. Figure 6.4 illustrates their new built student accommodation, Saratoga Village in Berea which offers:

> *Modern, apartment-style living with a fitness centre, swimming pool, recreation and chill rooms, free Wi-Fi, free parking, free laundry facility, free weekly bedroom cleaning and a computer lab. [It also includes] state of the art biometric access control, 24/7 manned security and CCTV surveillance will ensure your safety is our priority"* (www.respublica.co.za).

Figure 6.4: Saratoga Village in Berea (Source: www.respublica.co.za)

Similarly, Figure 6.5 illustrates a new development by AFHCO, Living @ Mpumelelo in Doornfontein who markets itself as:

> *This newly constructed building offers affordable student accommodation to rent, has 15 floors, and is believed to be the first newly constructed building of this size in the inner city in several decades. There is a Cinema, a first for an AFHCO building, TV rooms, seminar room, vending machines in the communal kitchen and the entertainment rooms come with pool and foosball tables" (www.afhco.co.za).*

Figure 6.5: Living @ Mpumelelo (building on right) in Doornfontein (Source: www.afhco.co.za)

Gateway student accommodation offers similar services at a more competitive rate. Gateway House, a retrofitted hotel located in Joubert Park includes:

> *Bedrooms [that] are private and lockable, are tastefully furnished with all the necessities and feature a work desk with free high-speed fibre internet access. Giving you the perfect environment to relax and study. Our chill-out facilities include coffee lounges, games rooms, a gym, an education centre, a swimming pool and an indoor astroturf sports field. There are also facilities for church services"* (www.gateway.im).

Most suppliers in this market tend to offer similar amenities and services. Table 6.3 summarises some of the services available to students residing in this housing option.

Table 6.3: Amenities and services available at purpose-built and retrofitted student accommodation

▪ Internet access ▪ Laundry facilities ▪ Cleaning services ▪ Computer labs ▪ Internet cafes ▪ Convenience stores on site ▪ Cafeteria ▪ Study rooms /centres ▪ Games rooms or "chill-out" areas ▪ Pool (only certain suppliers) ▪ Sports and recreation facilities (only certain suppliers)	▪ Gym ▪ 24 hr security ▪ Biometric access ▪ Secure parking (only certain suppliers) ▪ Furnished bedrooms ▪ Fully equipped communal kitchens ▪ Bathrooms (communal) ▪ Shuttle service (if located more than 3km from campus) ▪ Social events

(Source: Author).

The focus groups and author survey have indicated issues with the quality of amenities and services on offer. Students are mainly concerned with the supply of internet access and transportation and this influences their decision of where to apply for housing. Dissatisfaction with the level of service delivery also prompts students to seek housing from a wide range of competitors in this market. As the price range is not that competitive, suppliers tend to market their amenities and additional services quite vigorously to achieve market distinction.

One student explains *"we are paying the same price, but not everyone gets the same service. Like my room, there is no Wi-Fi and when you complain they will take their time to come and sort it out. Sometimes the quality of the [additional] services is questionable"* (Respondent - Johannesburg Inner-City Focus Group, 16 February 2018). On the issue of transport, another student elaborates that:

> *One of the reasons I left City Waldorf [was because] of transport issues. Sometimes we wanted to go to [campus] and then the busses weren't working – and we had to push busses. Can you imagine students having to push busses? This is why I decided to leave City Waldorf for Gateway, [they] are much better with transport* (Respondent - Johannesburg Inner-City Focus Group, 16 February 2018).

Challenges with transport is a major concern for students as it has implications for their safety. Some students have noted that the transport offered by some of the suppliers is

not reliable. This, in turn, causes a safety concern for students who then opt to walk. One student explains:

> *So if the bus is not there, we just go to Doornfontein campus and catch the university bus from there. But it's not safe! That area is not safe! Some of us have to walk in quite dangerous places to get to the Doornfontein campus to catch the bus* (Respondent - Johannesburg Inner-City Focus Group, 16 February 2018).

6.4 RENTAL RATES AND AFFORDABILITY

The price range for retrofitted and purpose-built student accommodation is largely influenced by the housing allowance set by the NSFAS. By virtue of its size and influence NSFAS is a price-maker in this market. The NSFAS housing allowance was R3, 600 per month (2020 rate). This said, there is a significant price range available to students seeking accommodation in retrofitted or purpose-built student accommodation in Johannesburg. Table 6.4 summarises the price range from a selection of popular suppliers in Johannesburg (rates in 2020).

Table 6.4: Rental range at purpose-built and retrofitted student accommodation in Johannesburg

Supplier	**Single room**	**Sharing x 2 students**	**Sharing x 3 students**	**Additional costs**
AFHCO Student Accommodation	R3,950-R4,580	R3,700-R4,100	-	-
Citiq Student Accommodation	R3,200-R4,200	-	-	-
Feenstra Group	R4,500-R5,050	R4,300	-	Admin Fee: R1,200 Parking bay: R400p/m Internet: R805 per semester
Gateway Student Accommodation	From R4,000	-	-	-
Mafadi Management Letting Sales	-	R3,000-R3,600	-	-
Respublica Student Accommodation	R4,150-R4,500	R3,975	-	-
South Point	R4,450-R5,100	R3,700-R4,375	R3,850-R3,900	Admin Fee: R1,100 Deposit: 1 months rent
Student Digz	R4,400	R3,900	R3,600	Admin Fee: R500 Deposit: R1,000

(Source: Author).

The rental rates for a single room can range from R3, 200 to R5, 100 per month. Students who opt to share (2 students sharing) can see rental rates ranging from R3,000 to R4,375 per student per month. Some suppliers have up to three students sharing a single room at a range of between R3, 600 to R3, 900 per student per month. Some suppliers require one month's rent as deposit and an administration fee for self-funded students. The deposit and administration fees for NSFAS students, however, are waived. Most suppliers offer an all-inclusive rate and the monthly rent includes the cost of water and electricity, internet access, laundry and cleaning services, security, etc. There are, however, some suppliers charge additional costs for certain services, such as parking or internet (refer to Table 6.4). As the NSFAS rate is R3, 600 (2020 rate) per month, many students receiving this financial aid are channelled into suppliers that offer shared rooms. NSFAS students are permitted to choose a more expensive option, but they need to top up the difference at their own cost. The cost of student accommodation, however, is prohibitive for many students.

The affordability of higher education in South Africa has become a contentious issue, which reached a critical point with the eruption of the Fees Must Fall protests in 2015 and 2016. Students from Wits were at the forefront of this movement and the protest action spilt out onto the streets of Braamfontein (Booysen, 2016). The focus group with Wits students revealed that many students face financial difficulties. A lot of students that attend Wits are self-funded which puts a lot of pressure on families to fund tuition fees and the accompanying living costs, especially for students from a poor and working-class background. Students that indicated that they have bursaries noted that most bursaries do not fully cover tuition fees, cost of accommodation and other living expenses, thus many students experience a financial shortfall. A student from Wits explains:

> *I mean the R4, 500 per month that South Point charges, means you must be paying around R45, 000 per year and then if you must pay another R60 000 in [tuition] fees… bursaries don't really give over a R100, 000 per year, especially in undergrad. So you will have to top-up somehow, somewhere. And that basically is just you sleeping and going to class, it does not include what you wear, eat and drink, your devices…* (Respondent - Braamfontein Wits Focus Group, 5 April 2018).

In terms of affordability, some students at the University of Johannesburg have a different perspective. This institution's tuition fees are much lower compared to Wits University

and a large proportion of its student body receives funding from NSFAS. Coupled with lower tuition fees and government funding, UJ students do have a bit more spending power for accommodation. Many UJ students receive NSFAS which is enough to cover both tuition fees and accommodation costs and they do not encounter the same excessive financial shortfall as many students from Wits do. As one UJ student recounts:

> *It's affordable as an NSFAS student. So, we can stay at accredited buildings and they don't charge us anything. So, we just sign up the lease and once you are an NSFAS student, automatically they will fund you to stay there* (Respondent - Braamfontein UJ Focus Group, 23 February 2018).

The focus groups revealed that some students find the rental rates too expensive for the sharing option. One student feels that:

> *It's expensive! [When] it is NSFAS and UJ accredited, it is just too much. The [rates] are ridiculous, just ridiculous! You are paying R3, 000 per person, but up to 4 people [sharing] a room, so that's 12 [thousand Rand] they are making per room. If you have funding I guess it's okay* (Respondent - Johannesburg Inner-City Focus Group, 16 February 2018).

Despite issues related to affordability, most respondents in all focus groups revealed that they do think it is value for money as it offers an all-inclusive package, which includes accommodation, internet access, laundry and cleaning services, security, and transport. A student explains that:

> *For me, it is worth the money. It is expensive, yes, but I understand where they are coming from. They give us everything basically. I mean, how much does data cost these days? I mean, we get Wi-Fi every day. I use their transport. Every room has its own TV and there is DSTV, so it's a lot [that is included]* (Respondent - Johannesburg Inner-City Focus Group, 16 February 2018).

6.5 LIVING IN THE INNER-CITY

Attention now shifts to explore students lived experiences of residing in the inner-city of Johannesburg. An author survey and a focus group conducted with students residing in the inner-city revealed the advantages and challenges of inner-city living. These challenges include issues related to safety and exposure to crime, proximity to campus and noise pollution. Some of the advantages of inner-city living for students include cheaper living cost, access to retail, entertainment and other services and access to public transportation.

Safety is a major concern for students living in the inner-city of Johannesburg. Their safety concerns are mostly linked to walking around in certain parts of the inner-city. Students are constantly aware of their safety; *"you just have to be conscious and aware of your surroundings, and you have to plan your trip and times. I never walk alone, I always walk with a group of friends and I make sure that I do not have valuables on me"* (Respondent - Johannesburg Inner-City Focus Group, 16 February 2018).

Despite the perception of increased risk of crime in the inner-city, some of the students have indicated that they feel safer in purpose-built and retrofitted student accommodation compared to communes. The reason for this is that suppliers located in the inner-city offer transportation and students do not have to walk to campus. Furthermore, the security at these buildings tends to be better, including security guards and biometric access, which is absent at communes. One student explains that "*inside the building we are safe but outside is very dangerous. When we walk to [Doornfontein campus] we face danger"* (Respondent - Johannesburg Inner-City Focus Group, 16 February 2018). Another student states that *"it's the in-between spaces from your building to transport [and] to campus that are dangerous"* (Respondent - Johannesburg Inner-City Focus Group, 16 February 2018).

Some students feel that the safety of the area outside of the building is not taken into consideration during the accreditation process and this exposes students to increased risk of crime. A student recall:

> *There is a building close to my residence where homeless people stay on Jeppe street. It burnt down and they had to move. Now they are just outside our building, you step*

> *out of our building and there are just homeless people. Doing their injections and stuff and it's just not safe* (Respondent - Johannesburg Inner-City Focus Group, 16 February 2018).

A challenge for some students is the number of homeless people or people living in hi-jacked buildings near student accommodation as this poses a security threat to students. There is a general perception amongst students that it is the homeless and people living in hi-jacked buildings that are responsible for street muggings and other forms of crime in the inner-city.

It is important to note that the inner-city of Johannesburg cuts across a diverse range of neighbourhoods, with some perceived much safer than others. Overall, students residing in areas such as Doornfontein, Joubert Park and Hillbrow feel more unsafe in their environment than those living in Marshalltown or Braamfontein. A student living in Marshalltown notes that *"Marshalltown is safe and quiet. So, there are not too many harsh things that are happening here"* (Respondent - Johannesburg Inner-City Focus Group, 16 February 2018). A student living in Braamfontein notes *"I could say that Braamfontein is safe… there is security on every corner of Braamfontein and there are cameras as well. You can hear people on the street around 2 am. I feel comfortable walking alone"* (Respondent - Braamfontein UJ Focus Group, 23 February 2018).

Whilst the major security concern is outside of student accommodation there are some concerns around theft in the buildings, one student recalls:

> *I feel like safety is not guaranteed inside the building. We don't leave valuables in our rooms. People who also clean the rooms cannot be trusted. You can see when you come back to your room [they] have been drinking tea and using your stuff. Cleaners are stealing bits of food such as rice and sugar from the students* (Respondent - Johannesburg Inner-City Focus Group, 16 February 2018).

Besides safety concerns as a challenge of living in the inner-city students have noted there are a few other challenges. Some indicated that proximity to campus is not ideal for students who are based at the University of Johannesburg's Auckland Park Kingsway campus. Most students living in the inner-city rely on a shuttle service to get to campus as it is too far to walk. A student reflects:

> *I hate the fact that if I have an 8 am class, I need to leave the city very early. Long queues to access the busses. Proximity to Auckland Park Kingsway campus is not ideal from the city. Peak hour traffic in and out of the city can be bad and this makes the commute long during peak hours* (Respondent - Johannesburg Inner-City Focus Group, 16 February 2018).

Similarly, another student thinks *"it's way too far, but we do have transportation. We give ourselves an hour to get to campus"* (Respondent - Braamfontein UJ Focus Group, 23 February 2018). Other challenges include noise pollution, the city environment can be noisy for some students, making it less of an academically conducive environment. One student noted that *"some struggle to study because the city is too loud"*. Another student agrees and explains that *"traffic sounds are also much more [pronounced] in the city and around peak hours there is so much hooting"* (Respondent - Braamfontein UJ Focus Group, 23 February 2018).

The major challenges students have noted are linked to safety, proximity to campus and noise pollution. There are, however, advantages of living in the inner-city. Some of the students indicated that the living costs are cheaper in the inner-city, including rent and especially consumables such as groceries which can easily be purchased from informal vendors. Another advantage is linkages to public transportation. The survey revealed that many students rely on the university shuttle service (Mega Bus) to travel between campuses and to access the inner-city and Soweto. Other popular modes of transportation for inner-city students include accommodation shuttle services and public transportation such as the Rea Vaya (Rapid Bus Transport) and minibus taxis.

The survey revealed that students who live in the inner-city support retail at a variety of inner-city malls. These include Carlton centre shopping mall, the Bridge shopping centre, End street mall, Park central shopping centre and Newtown Junction shopping mall. One of the focus groups revealed that students support informal vendors, spaza shops and tuckshops as well. One respondent has noticed that:

> *At [Gateway student accommodation], there is this guy who has noticed that around 4pm students are coming back and they want to cook, so he has a trolley of vegetables next to the gate, so people don't have to go far, they can just buy from*

him. It's so fresh and so clean and so cheap (Respondent - Johannesburg Inner-City Focus Group, 16 February 2018).

In terms of social life and entertainment, the survey and all focus groups have revealed that Braamfontein and Melville are important spaces for student nightlife consumption. In Braamfontein, students note that Skyline, Kitcheners, Great Dane, the Bannister hotel bar and 86 Public, as well as the weekly Neighbourgoods Market, are popular establishments for socialising in this student district. Melville is also an important node for student social life, students have indicated that bars and clubs along Main road and 7th street are popular amongst students. Some of the establishments include Stones, Ballerz, Liquid Blue and Six's Cocktail Bar. Several students have also indicated that Maboneng is a popular space for entertainment, listing Shakers bar and club as a popular establishment. There are however a few other bars and clubs scattered across the inner-city that are popular amongst students, for example, Buffalo Bulls, Chesanyama and Capello in Gandhi Square and Razzmatazz nightclub and beer garden in Joubert Park.

6.6 THE GROWTH OF A STUDENT DISTRICT - THE CASE OF BRAAMFONTEIN

The case of Braamfontein provides an example of a distinctive student district in Johannesburg. Over the past decade and a half, there has been evidence of clustering of student accommodation and additional student services in the area. The studentification evidenced in Braamfontein best illustrates the impact of a concentrated student population in an inner-city neighbourhood. The location of the University of the Witwatersrand on the western edge of Braamfontein has been instrumental in shaping the geographies of student housing and entertainment in this area (Refer to Figure 6.6).

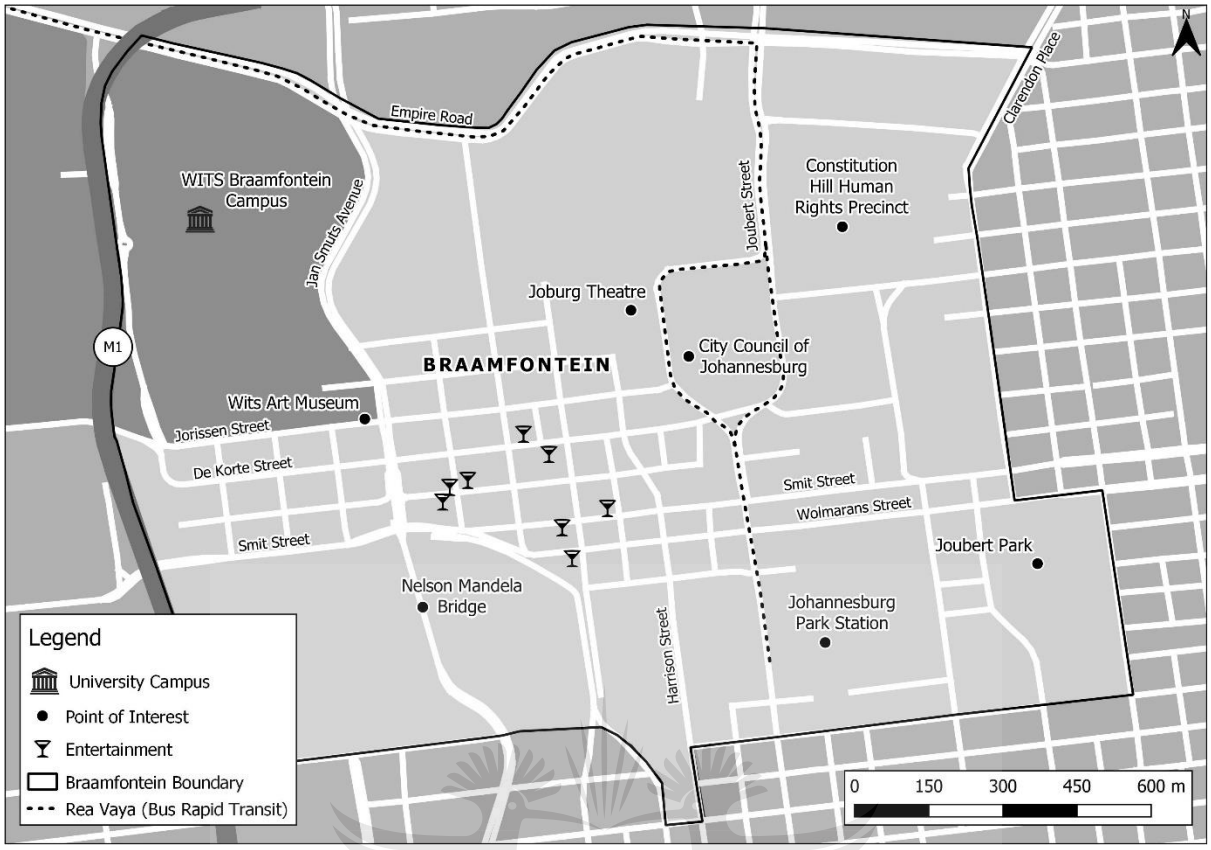

Figure 6.6: Map of Braamfontein (Source: Author)

The inner-city neighbourhood of Braamfontein is located north of Johannesburg's central business district. Before the 1950s it was largely characterised as a white working-class suburb. In 1946 the area was rezoned and gained full business rights, which stimulated commercial development from the 1950s. Braamfontein was considered as Johannesburg's first decentralised commercial node but has subsequently been incorporated as an extension of the central business district (Hart, 1969; Beavon, 2004). The type of businesses that established themselves in Braamfontein were commercial office-based activities and the area had little retail or residential concern. The construction of office space continued throughout the 1960s to the early 1980s (Beavon, 2004; Murray, 2011).

Johannesburg's central business district along with Braamfontein began to show early signs of stagnation and decline caused by widespread capital flight in the 1980s and 1990s (Rogerson, 1996). This was partly due to the crumbling apartheid regime and the rapid "greying" of many inner-city neighbourhoods. The flight of capital from the inner-city was compounded with continued decentralisation of businesses to commercial nodes such as Rosebank and Sandton, located further north of the city. It is, however, important

to note that Braamfontein did not experience the same level of decline as the rest of the central business district. Despite this, it failed to retain major companies, with the exception of a few. During the 1990s much of Braamfontein was characterised by low-end office activities who made use of the cheaper available office space (Beavon, 2004; Murray, 2011; Rogerson and Rogerson, 1995; Rogerson, 1996; Todes, 2012; Visser, 2002).

During the mid to late 1990s, the city of Johannesburg recognised the need for policy intervention to promote urban regeneration. It is, however, only by the early 2000s with the establishment of the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) that some progress was made with investments in various urban renewal projects. A watershed for promoting property investment in the city was the introduction of the Urban Development Zone (UDZ) tax incentive in 2004. From the late 2000s onwards, the policy environment of the city became more favourable to support private property investors. Throughout the early 2000s, the JDA upgraded various pavements, introduced public art, and improved lighting in Braamfontein. The construction of the iconic Nelson Mandela Bridge linked Braamfontein with Newtown. In 2004 the Braamfontein Improvement District (BID) was established. The BID was one of the first legislated City Improvement Districts (CID) in Johannesburg where additional levies were charged on private property owners to fund the private urban management of the area (Beavon, 2004; Garner, 2011; Murray, 2011).

The growth of the student housing market in Braamfontein can be traced back to the early 2000s and coincides with the massification of higher education and the rapid growth of student numbers at both the University of the Witwatersrand and the University of Johannesburg. Wits University is located in Braamfontein and has doubled in student enrolment over the past two decades, from around 17, 000 students in the early 2000s to a capacity of over 36, 000 students by 2018 (Masinga, 2018). The University of Johannesburg has a student population of over 50, 000 students across its five campuses – the largest being the Auckland Park Kingsway campus, which is located about 3.5km West from Braamfontein. The massive growth in student numbers and lack of university investment in providing on-campus housing has resulted in increased demand for private student housing. Braamfontein has emerged as an important district for student housing.

South Point Properties are the pioneers of student housing development in Braamfontein. Owned by the Public Investment Corporation, South Point Property Investments is the biggest supplier of student housing in Braamfontein (and in South Africa). The company was established in 2003 and initially acquired a few buildings which were redeveloped into student housing. South Point has grown their property portfolio to over 40 buildings nationally, the majority of which are concentrated in Braamfontein. An interview (19 February 2018) with a representative of South Point disclosed that in the early 2000s property in the area was relatively affordable and that the city provided incentives to lure private property developers to invest and upgrade the area. South Point recognised that there was a gap for private student housing with the increased student numbers at the universities. South Point invested in converting and retrofitting mid-rise office blocks into dormitory-style student housing and residential apartments for graduates and young professionals. Figure 6.7 illustrates the type of mid-rise buildings that have been converted into student accommodation. A representative at South Point explains that *"we were the pioneers of the industry, our approach is more than the provision of accommodation, but to offer a student lifestyle"* (Interview, 19 February 2018). In 2018, South Point properties had 13 buildings in Braamfontein, which had been converted into student housing supplying accommodation for over 5, 000 students.

Figure 6.7: Braamfontein (Source: Author)

Student Digz is the second largest supplier of student housing in Braamfontein and is a division of International Housing Solutions (IHS), a global private equity investor, focusing on the affordable housing market in South Africa. Currently Student Digz has a property portfolio of six buildings in Braamfontein, housing 1, 326 students in self-contained apartments. Amongst other smaller suppliers of student accommodation, there is University Gate and J-One, which predominantly focus on luxury student accommodation. Overall, an audit conducted of student housing suppliers in Braamfontein revealed there is a population of around 7, 000 students living in Braamfontein.

The various suppliers of student accommodation in Braamfontein and the presence of a concentrated student population have created a distinctive student district. The process of studentification since 2003 has changed the functional use of Braamfontein from a day-time commercial node to a 24 hour student district. Attention now shifts to understand

the impact of a large student population on public space, retail and service offerings and the night-time economy in Braamfontein.

Braamfontein was developed as a commercial node and its infrastructure was never intended for a residential population. Due to the rise of a more permanent residential population, the area is currently lacking public space for students and other residents. According to the BID manager (Interview, 3 April 2018), the area has experienced a demographic shift with the introduction of a large student population. The BID in collaboration with Wits University and suppliers of student accommodation are seeking innovative ways to address the lack of and management of public space in Braamfontein. There is growing support from the university and private property owners in the area to view public space as an extension of private and institutional space. The influence of South Point Properties and several other property developers and the establishment of the BID has led to the private management of public space in Braamfontein. The BID manager (Interview, 3 April 2018) points out that the lack of public space in the area has contributed to various challenges. One of the biggest challenges is that students tend to congregate on pavements and social problems such as public drinking has emerged. The BID manager (Interview, 3 April 2018) explains that:

> *We have this influx of a student population that has nowhere to go. There is no public space for them, there is no communal space for them to go recreate. So those are some of the challenges that we now must find solutions for. If we don't want them on the street – where do, we find those spaces for them and where do they go? Public space is currently a shortfall in the environment, but it is one of the challenges that we are dealing with.*

One example of public space intervention was the development of the Grove Piazza (refer to Figure 6.9). South Point properties demolished a building to create an open-air piazza, with various cafés, restaurants and a hotel facing the space. Despite creating much needed public space in Braamfontein, it can be argued that the creation of this space has become privatised.

Figure 6.8: The Grove Piazza, Braamfontein (Source: Mark Straw)

Apart from challenges linked to public space, the retail and service offerings in the area have also undergone a change in recent years. Despite their focus on student accommodation, South Point properties also have a significant concentration of retail and commercial space in Braamfontein. They have taken a curatorial approach to secure retail and commercial tenants that complement the student lifestyle. South Point's retail strategy is both inspirational and aspirational retail brands catering to a predominantly youth market. Examples include an array of trendy footwear and clothing stores, as well as coffee shops and restaurants. South Point's property portfolio in Braamfontein also consists of some commercial office space, which is predominantly focused on the NGO sector.

> *Five years ago, in the building, there were two schools, a church, and small-scale entrepreneurs. If you go there now, there is Corruption Watch, Section 27, Swiss Art Council, Right-to-Know Campaign, etc. What this means is that the calibre of office workers has improved, which leads into an ecosystem, they are the kind of tenants that will come out and have a cappuccino and have lunch as they do have disposable*

income and more purchasing power, they could support an Apple store for example (Interview, Representative of South Point Properties, 19 February 2018).

It can be argued that an element of retail and commercial gentrification has occurred in Braamfontein as many buildings have been renovated and higher rental rates can be achieved. Mid-level and higher-end retailers are attracted to the area as the student population and higher-end office workers have more purchasing power, thus displacing lower-end commercial and retail activities. Despite the growth of higher-end retail brands in Braamfontein, there are still many mid-range and lower-end activities. Various national chains and fast-food outlets are located along Jorissen and De Korte streets, which are the main thoroughfares through Braamfontein. There are also examples of low-end and informal trading scattered throughout the district, and these are mostly convenience stores or tuck shops and hairdressers. Many of the low-end offerings are clustered along Biccard street, one of the main thoroughfares linking Braamfontein with Johannesburg's central business district.

The influx of a student population has stimulated the growth of the entertainment and night-time economy in Braamfontein. Over the past 15 years different entertainment facilities have emerged. There are curated spaces such as the Neighbourgoods market (a weekly food and design market) and other trendy bars, shops and restaurants that mostly draw visitors on weekends (Naicker and Rogerson, 2017). These visitors include middle-class suburbanites, creatives, tourists and students. The students do frequent bars and restaurants in the area but also support more spontaneous parties that often spill out onto the streets of Braamfontein.

Various bars and nightclubs operate in Braamfontein, and the trend of public drinking has grown significantly over the past few years. South Point and the BID are aware of the social problems that have emerged because of the growth of the night-time economy and various issues surrounding public drinking, fighting and substance abuse. Of great concern is the emergence of 'car-bars' or 'boot-parties', where people drink alcohol and party from their cars parked on the streets of Braamfontein.

The student population has produced a spontaneous nightlife that has predominantly spilled out onto the streets, the boot bar culture has become a very extensive and common character [on] the streets of Braamfontein. Although it's

> *great to have this spontaneous nightlife it is also a challenge, the spaces are then not safe, we don't want fights or people to get hurt or young female students being unaware of the environment they are in and vulnerable within the space* (Interview BID Manager, 3 April 2018).

The representative from South Point states that the risk involved with unregulated public drinking is that it has the potential to destabilise other commercial and retailing offerings in the area, as it becomes a threat to security (Interview, 19 February 2018). The BID manager is aware of this and trying to manage the various social problems that have emerged because of the spontaneous night-time economy. The BID manager, however, does highlight a lack of commitment from the City of Johannesburg and the Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department (JMPD) as an obstacle in dealing with issues surrounding public drinking and safety (Interview, 3 April 2018).

It is evident that investment in student housing in Braamfontein has produced a distinctive student district. The introduction of a student population into an area that was developed as a commercial node has created challenges in dealing with urban management, stimulated the growth of retail, services and entertainment facilities that cater to a student market. It has, however, also stimulated the growth of the night-time economy, contributing to socially disruptive problems such as public drinking posing a risk to safety in the area. Attention now shifts to understand and explore the emergence of a distinctive student lifestyle in Braamfontein.

The focus groups revealed that the majority of the students that reside in Braamfontein are black South African students, most of whom are the first in their families to attend university. The students are attracted to Braamfontein because of the proximity it offers to Wits University and the University of Johannesburg. They also felt that Braamfontein is safer compared to the rest of inner-city Johannesburg and it offers access to an attractive student lifestyle. Many of the students state that there is an array of student services, retail and entertainment facilities within walking distance from their accommodation.

Various inspirational and aspirational brands are present in Braamfontein and this ties in with the urban student lifestyle that is promoted in the area. The cost of these brands, however, is prohibitive for many students. Whilst most of the students do feel that there

is a diverse range of offerings in the area that cater to different income levels, they do feel the presence of higher-end brands in the area is problematic. When asked about some of the higher-end retail offerings in the area that sell expensive clothing and footwear the students felt that these brands are overpriced and do not fit with a student budget, but they do recognise that this is what the youth market wants. One student notes, *"I think some of those shops are way too expensive, they need to understand that we are students. You need to wait for a 'blesser' to buy you those things"* (Respondent - Braamfontein UJ Focus Group, 23 Febraury 2018). Another student indicates that *"it's unethical of them to have those kinds of shops in a student district"* (Respondent - Braamfontein Wits Focus Group, 5 April 2018). Many students feel that these higher-end brands contribute to the student lifestyle or culture of Braamfontein, but that it is not necessarily affordable for many students. One student points out, *"yes, brands are using student lifestyle and culture to make money, that is their aim. They know as students we are attracted to their products. They are selling a lifestyle"* (Respondent - Braamfontein Wits Focus Group, 5 April 2018).

The majority of students from both focus groups pointed out that a distinctive subculture or student lifestyle has emerged in Braamfontein. Students who conform to this particular lifestyle are referred to as "Braam kids". This subculture is focused on a certain lifestyle, achieving social status and distinction through the way they dress, the type of music they listen to and the entertainment spaces they frequent. Most of the students in both groups indicated that there is social and peer pressure to conform to the "Braam kids" lifestyle. The introduction of inspirational and aspirational lifestyle brands in the area is influencing student culture. As one student pointed out, *"these brands add to that aspiring lifestyle. The brands come here, knowing there is a market and that students dress in a certain style"* (Respondent - Braamfontein Wits Focus Group, 5 April 2018). The social pressures of conforming to a lifestyle and achieving social status have contributed to social problems such as the "blesser phenomenon", where many wealthier older men visit Braamfontein and some young female students resort to relationships with them for financial reward. One student explains:

> *These first-year students come here, and when they come here, there is already a way of living that already exists. More often than not these students don't have enough money. There is a lot of peer pressure, you have to do something outside the class and find a way to have fun or whatever and many don't really have the means to do*

that. The means to buy themselves nice clothes or fit in with the aesthetics of the city so they then turn to those blessers and it's something that happens quite a lot (Respondent - Braamfontein UJ Focus Group, 23 February 2018).

The role of social media in promoting aspirational brands and achieving social status is quite common amongst students. Social media applications such as Instagram and Facebook are constantly used by students to portray an aspirational lifestyle through the consumption of various lifestyle brands. One student points out that:

There are many girls who are desperate to fit in with the whole 'slay queen' image. I think social media also has a lot to do with it. In South Africa right now there is this trend to be more materialistic, to be more popular… Instagram life. So, there are these social pressures from social media to be cool and look nice or whatever, so they don't have the means to do it. So, they turn to blessers (Respondent - Braamfontein UJ Focus Group, 23 February 2018).

Another important aspect of the student lifestyle is entertainment and partying. Students living in Braamfontein feel that there is a lot of freedom to party. Some students do point out issues of alcohol and substance abuse, which tends to spill out onto the streets. Most students agree that street parties and car boot parties have become popular, as it is more affordable than going to bars or clubs. Students have noted issues surrounding public drinking have led to crime, fights and vulnerability of drunk students, particularly female students with increased risk of sexual assault. One student recall:

On the street people simply blast music from their cars and drink from their cars. There is a lot of public drinking and boot bars. Most people don't even get into these clubs, they just park their cars there and drink. Most student accommodation suppliers don't allow alcohol on the premises and this pushes it out onto the streets (Respondent - Braamfontein Wits Focus Group, 5 April 2018).

The case of Braamfontein illustrates the impact of studentification and a concentrated student population in an inner-city neighbourhood. Since 2003 investment in student housing has transformed Braamfontein as a student district and produced concentrated student geographies. The production of Braamfontein as a student district stretches beyond the supply of accommodation but includes retail services and entertainment – producing a distinctive area for student lifestyle consumption. It can be argued that with

the introduction of a large student population in Braamfontein the area has shifted from a stagnating commercial node to a growing student district, which has stimulated investment and contributed to urban renewal. In Braamfontein, South Point Properties have recognised that the student population are aspiring middle-class, and they have positioned brands in the area that meet those aspirations. There is, however, as many students have pointed out the issue of the actual affordability of the student market. This is of concern in South Africa where the majority of students come from poor and working-class families, thus feeling extreme pressures to conform to an aspiring middle-class lifestyle that is being promoted. This raises the question about how ethical this type of brand positioning is in Braamfontein for a student market who do not necessarily have the means to buy these brands, who are highly impressionable and under peer pressure to conform to a particular student lifestyle. Many students in this research revealed that they feel extreme social pressures to conform to the student lifestyle that has been created and evolved in Braamfontein over the past few years. The latter has contributed to various social problems such as the blesser phenomenon, impacting particularly on young female students. The concentrated student population in Braamfontein has also stimulated the growth of a night-time economy. The spontaneous nightlife that spills out onto the streets has been noted to be a destabilising factor in the district.

Despite the growth of higher-end lifestyle brands in certain parts of Braamfontein, the area still offers a mix of retail and service offerings for different income levels and can be considered a diverse space, bringing together a mix of cultures, races and classes. It can be argued that this form racial and the class intersection is much needed in urban South Africa with a tainted history of racial segregation and post-apartheid class-based segregation. There is, however, the risk that with continued investment and concentration of student geographies the diversity of the area will be lost. Retail and commercial gentrification might make the space less diverse and a space for student and aspiring middle-class consumption. There are elements of commercial gentrification noted in Braamfontein, where retail and services catering to a student sub-market are becoming increasingly concentrated. Braamfontein could be labelled as an incubator for apprentice gentrifiers, where the presence of certain brands and the student lifestyle that has emerged is cultivating a taste for middle-class consumption.

6.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter explored the purpose-built and retrofitted student accommodation market in Johannesburg. It offers a descriptive and spatial overview of the size, scope and geography of this housing market in the inner-city of Johannesburg and the greater Auckland Park area. It was estimated that 48 suppliers offer bed space for 25, 460 students in this market and the majority of students 21, 678 (85%) reside in accommodation located in the inner-city of Johannesburg. Therefore, the inner-city of Johannesburg has emerged as an important space for student accommodation. This housing option is far less dominant in the greater Auckland Park area, which is still largely dominated by housing in multiple occupation. This said, Auckland Park is starting to emerge as an important space for purpose-built student accommodation.

Furthermore, this chapter offered a descriptive overview on the amenities and services available at this housing option. The majority of buildings in this housing market are retrofitted from commercial, industrial and residential buildings located in the inner-city. These buildings were reconfigured into dormitory-style student residences with bedrooms, communal bathrooms, kitchens and various common areas for studying and recreation. It was found that these suppliers try to recreate a university residence experience with a focus on an array of social activities for students to partake in. The DHET and NSFAS have a strict set of criterion accommodation suppliers must adhere to, thus the majority of suppliers offer a standardised package of amenities and services. Due to the NSFAS funding link, competitors vie for market share usually through the services they offer. Students are generally drawn to suppliers with good proximity to a university campus and those who offer good internet access and transportation services.

A review of rental rates in this housing market revealed that it can range from R3, 000-R5, 100. These rates are mostly all inclusive of additional services, such as internet access, transport and cleaning services. The rental rates are influenced by location and proximity to campus, quality of amenities and services on offer and whether students go for a single or sharing option. It was found that affordability, however, is still a contentious issue for students. Overall, students who benefit from NSFAS funding scheme, are however, less likely to be concerned about funding compared to self-funded students. Many students

indicated that they experienced a shortfall and that their funding is not enough to cover the cost of tuition, housing, and other living expenses.

This chapter delved into the lived experiences of students residing in the inner-city of Johannesburg. Safety and exposure to crime remains a major concern for students who reside in the inner-city. As students are mostly pedestrian, they are more exposed to crime. Many students have indicated that the "in-between" spaces are not safe, i.e. spaces between their accommodation, transportation, and campus. The presence of hi-jacked, or illegally occupied buildings near student accommodation was flagged as a major concern for students as they feel vulnerable and exposed to criminal activities. Some areas within the inner-city were perceived as more dangerous than others. Areas such as Marshalltown and Braamfontein are perceived safer, compared to areas such as Doornfontein and Hillbrow.

Proximity to campus is also a challenge for some students especially those who are based at the University of Johannesburg's Auckland Park Kingsway and Bunting Road campus. They must rely on student accommodation shuttles or inter-campus transport. It was noted that during peak hours it can take up to an hour for students residing in the inner-city to commute to campus. Other challenges of living in the inner-city include excessive noise pollution which does not contribute to an academically conducive environment. Despite these challenges several advantages of living in the inner city have been noted by students. It was found that the inner-city offers access to a cheaper living environment. Students have access to a variety of retail and other services, from shopping malls, entertainment and public transportation links.

The case of Braamfontein provides an overview on the impact of studentification in an inner-city neighbourhood. It was found that investment in student housing in this area has produced a distinctive student district. The impact in Braamfontein stretches beyond the supply of student accommodation but also contributes to changes in retail and service offerings and the growth of the night-time economy. The popularity of this area as a space for entertainment contributes to the local economy and social vibrancy of the area. The unregulated nature of the spontaneous nightlife in the form of street partying, however, is noted as a destabilising factor in the area. It can be argued that studentification contributes to urban renewal in Braamfontein, but this is coupled with commercial gentrification and the commodification of student lifestyle. Overall, the impact of

studentification in Braamfontein has changed the function of the area over the past decade and a half from a stagnant commercial node to a vibrant student district. These changes present new opportunities and challenges for urban management.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

7.1 STUDENT ACCOMMODATION IN JOHANNESBURG

The erection of important public and private institutions with either attractive or repellent features can affect neighbourhood change (Mckenzie, 1923). Indeed, the establishment of universities contributes to various changes within the urban environment (Goddard and Valance, 2013). In Johannesburg, the establishment of the University of the Witwatersrand and the then Rand Afrikaans University (now University of Johannesburg) triggered several changes in the surrounding urban environment. Initial changes included the appropriation of land for the construction and later expansion of university campuses (Kelso and Kotze, 2016; Klee, 2017; Murray, 1982). The primary focus of this thesis, however, was linked to more recent changes in neighbourhoods connected to the spill-over of an expanded student population seeking private accommodation, and other student-related services.

These changes are set against the backdrop of South Africa's restructured and expanded higher education system. The imperative for massification is to achieve greater inclusivity and to redress decades of exclusion of previously disadvantaged groups during apartheid (Akoojee and Nkomo, 2007). Furthermore, the expansion is also tied to addressing socio-economic challenges of poverty and unemployment through the production of skilled graduates (Jansen, 2004). The South African government has embarked on pursuing a knowledge-based economy and therefore a skilled labour force is critical in achieving this (Akoojee and Nkomo, 2007). The introduction of the government subsidised National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) has been instrumental in expanding student enrolment and actively shapes the supply and demand for student accommodation (Sader and Gabela, 2017). The past two decades have seen the rapid expansion of the private student accommodation market in South Africa (Ackermann and Visser, 2016). This research established that in Johannesburg this market is diverse, including both regulated and unregulated suppliers. The housing options range from housing in multiple occupation (student communes) to purpose-built and retrofitted student accommodation.

Student geographies and student housing affect urban morphological change and contributes to changes in the social, cultural and economic fabric of cities (Chatterton, 2010). Limited research has focused on understanding studentification in the context of the global South. In South Africa, however, the topic has received some attention and this thesis expands on this by documenting studentification in South Africa's largest city, Johannesburg. This thesis explored these changes by documenting first and second-wave studentification in Johannesburg. The purpose of this concluding chapter is to provide an overview of the original contribution of this research. This will be achieved through a summary of the key findings, arguments and contributions of this thesis. These findings will be situated within broader local and international scholarship on studentification and neighbourhood change. This chapter also identifies several research avenues for future research linked to student geographies and studentification.

7.2 KEY FINDINGS, ARGUMENTS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

This research was focused on understanding the various socio-spatial changes in neighbourhoods affected by studentification in Johannesburg. Indeed, chapter one revealed that universities are place-embedded institutions that share a unique relationship with its locale. The relationship between universities and cities cuts across physical, economic, social, and cultural dimensions (Goddard and Vallance, 2013; Holley and Harris, 2018; Russo and Tatjer, 2007). Chapter two reviewed the conceptual framework for this research with a focus on urban theory related to neighbourhood change and gentrification. It was found that most urban theory and extant literature on neighbourhood change and gentrification stems from an Anglo-American perspective (Lees et al., 2016; Robinson, 2006; Roy, 2014). Chapter three focused specifically on a review of literature related to studentification as a form of neighbourhood change. This review also revealed a strong focus on the experiences of cities located in the global North. Several parallels, however, can be drawn between the global North and global South experiences of gentrification and studentification. This research aimed to contribute to the limited debates on urban and neighbourhood change and studentification from the context of a city located in the global South.

Chapter four provided context on the recent historical changes in South Africa's higher education system. South Africa's higher education system have experienced a rapid expansion in student enrolment in the post-apartheid era, particularly since the early 2000s (Akoojee and Nkomo, 2007; Bunting, 2006; Jansen, 2004). This chapter argued that there is a strong link between the changes in higher education policy focused on massification and the growth of the private student accommodation market in South Africa. The outsourcing of student services such as accommodation is not unique to South Africa but reflects a global trend under a system of increased neoliberalisation where universities are expected to become more entrepreneurial (Chatterton, 1999; 2010; Prada, 2019). Indeed, this has been the case in South Africa, with the Department of Higher Education and Training (2011) calling on the private sector to fill the gap in the provision of student accommodation. The role of the government supported National Student Financial Aid Scheme is also underscored in this chapter as contributing to the rapid expansion of student enrolment (Sader and Gabela, 2017). This chapter further argued that increased subsidised funding for accessing higher education has stimulated the growth of the private student accommodation sector in South Africa. The trend of subsidised funding for increased access to higher education is noted elsewhere in the global South in the South American context (Prada, 2019) and in the context of sub-Saharan Africa (Fedha et al., 2017).

Despite access to NSFAS, many South African students from poor and working-class backgrounds still face financial difficulties in accessing higher education. The 'Fees Must Fall' student protests of 2015 and 2016 illustrated this frustration (Booysen, 2016). The challenges of affordability are not unique to South Africa. Examples in the international literature notes that the cost of tuition and additional services such as student accommodation may exclude students in the global North. For example, the development of purpose-built student accommodation is often geared towards more affluent students and it is noted that this housing option contributes to the segregation of students along lines of income at universities in the United Kingdom (Nakazawa, 2017; Sage et al., 2013; Smith and Hubbard, 2014). Therefore, the affordability of student accommodation will remain an important question in the context of South Africa where most students are from poor and working-class backgrounds.

Chapter five explored the growth and impact of first-wave studentification in the form of housing in multiple occupation or student communes as they are more popularly known in Johannesburg. Conceptually studentification draws on gentrification theory due to similar characteristics (Hubbard, 2008; Smith, 2002; 2005). It is documented in both local and international literature that first-wave studentification contributes to various forms of neighbourhood change (Ackermann and Visser, 2016; Donaldson et al., 2014; Smith, 2005; Smith et al., 2014).

In Johannesburg it was found that studentification exhibits several distinguishing characteristics often associated with gentrification. It was evidenced that first-wave studentification contributes to the re-commodification of single family homes into student communes. The supplier motivation for the development of such properties revealed that investors in Johannesburg favour housing in multiple occupation most importantly for the projectable income and greater return on investment as compared to renting to traditional families. This result aligns with Darren Smith (2002; 2005), who underscores Neil Smith's (1979) rent gap theory as vital for understanding the re-commodification of traditional family housing for student consumption as a closure of the rent gap.

Furthermore, chapter five explored the diverse impacts associated with housing in multiple occupation in Johannesburg. The broader social, economic, and physical impacts associated with student accommodation is a dominant theme in studentification literature. The impacts of studentification in this chapter align with similar experiences documented in the global North (Sage et al., 2012b; Smith, 2008; Smith and Holt, 2007; Woldoff and Weiss, 2018).

It was found that the major social impact of studentification in Johannesburg is centred around the conflicting lifestyles of students and non-student residents. Aspects of student lifestyle such as noisy parties are a common feature at some student communes. This has led to increased tension and in some cases conflict between long-term residents and students. There is evidence of what Marcuse (1985; 1986) calls displacement pressure in Johannesburg. Some long-term residents have been pressured to move due to increased noise levels and conflicting lifestyles. These experiences are not unique to Johannesburg. The negative social impacts often associated with housing in multiple occupation is a strong feature in studentification literature. These impacts have been widely documented

in the global North (Brookfield, 2019; Hubbard, 2008; Sage et al., 2012a). Despite an overwhelming negative view on the social impact of students. This research found that some community members do feel that students contribute to the social vibrancy in neighbourhoods surrounding the university. This notion is confirmed in international case studies. Both Smith (2009) and Long (2016) argue that students contribute to social diversification and social vibrancy in neighbourhoods.

Economically, the impact of housing in multiple occupation in Johannesburg has seen the over-inflation of property values, especially those that can be easily converted into student communes near the university. This dovetails with similar arguments in the global North where the over-inflation of property values and rental rates are a common feature near universities (Cortes, 2004; Smith, 2005; Smith and Hubbard, 2014). However, it was also found that the depreciation of certain property values exists in Johannesburg. This largely affects properties that are close to non-accredited or illegal communes. Smith (2005) underscores that housing in multiple occupation can also lead to the physical or aesthetic decline of neighbourhoods, which in turn can affect property values. This feature of studentification is also noted in local literature (Ackermann and Visser, 2016; Donaldson et al., 2014).

In terms of the broader economy, it was found that students do contribute to the local economy through their support of retail and other services. The positive impact of students on the local economy is documented in the global North (Allison, 2006, Smith, 2009; Smith et al., 2014). Ackermann and Visser (2016) make a similar observation in Bloemfontein, South Africa. Hubbard (2008), however, cautions that there is the risk of an overdependence on the student market in smaller university towns. This was, however, not found in Johannesburg, where there is the existence of a diversified economy with access to a broad market of consumers.

The physical impact of housing in multiple occupation can be seen in the aesthetic decline of certain neighbourhoods (Smith and Holt, 2007). This includes the removal of period features and property extensions that do not fit with the architectural integrity of a property (Smith et al., 2014). The findings of this research records similar challenges in Johannesburg. The housing stock surrounding the university date from the early to mid-20th century. The haphazard style in which certain properties have been converted into student communes has led to a decline in the architectural integrity of certain

neighbourhoods. Donaldson et al (2014) records the impact of studentification on heritage properties in Stellenbosch, South Africa. In addition, houses in multiple occupation have increased the population of many residential areas surrounding the university with increased pressure on ageing infrastructure such as the supply of electricity and the sewage system. These impacts are, however, not unique to this study but are confirmed in both local and international literature (Ackermann and Visser, 2016; Donaldson et al., 2014; Hubbard, 2008; Nakazawa, 2017).

It was found that the various impacts associated with houses in multiple occupation are heightened by the lack of law enforcement from the local authorities. The City of Johannesburg introduced its commune policy in 2009 to mitigate the negative impacts associated with communes. It was found that lack of capacity, corrupt inspectors and lack of follow-through are listed as some of the challenges associated with the ineffective implementation of this policy. Public nuisance incidents such as noisy parties and illegal commune conversions with land-use infringements are among the greatest concern for residents. There is evidence that the police and city officials are ineffective in dealing with by-law infringement linked to illegal communes. This has stimulated community action and NIMBYism. Community action against the impacts of studentification has been documented in the global North (Hubbard, 2008; Smith, 2008; Smith and Holt, 2007; Steinacker, 2005; Woldoff and Weiss, 2018).

This thesis, however, provides an important overview on the contested social spaces that are produced with houses in multiple occupation in the South African context. Within an unregulated context, studentification will exacerbate the negative impact associated with student communes and contribute to tension and conflict in neighbourhoods. The unregulated nature of student housing has received limited attention in cities of the global North (Broofkfield, 2018; Smith, 2005; 2008). It could be argued that challenges of unregulated and informal types of student housing are more pronounced in the global South where informality is often a key feature in cities (Parnell and Oldfield, 2014). In South Africa, unregulated or informal types of student accommodation is not unique to Johannesburg. Ndimande (2018) explores the role of unregulated student housing contributing to slum formation in a rural village in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.

In Johannesburg purpose-built and retrofitted student accommodation is often seen as a panacea for solving the challenges associated with housing in multiple occupation. It is

believed that the concentration of students away from residential neighbourhoods would alleviate some of the negative impacts associated with studentification. This is an assumption that is well documented in international literature (Hubbard, 2009; Sage et al., 2013; Smith and Hubbard, 2014).

Chapter six explored second-wave studentification in the form of purpose-built and retrofitted student accommodation in Johannesburg. This type of student housing emerged in the city in the mid-2000s, with increased growth in the 2010s. The trend of purpose-built student accommodation suppliers was first noted in South Africa by Ackermann and Visser (2016). In Johannesburg, most property developers have invested in the retrofitting of residential, commercial and industrial buildings into student accommodation. Investors have taken advantage of depreciated property values in the inner-city and its surrounding fringe areas. Therefore, the inner-city of Johannesburg has become a popular locale for this housing market. It was found that the inner-city offers access to a cheaper living environment and students have access to a variety of retail and other services, from shopping malls, entertainment and public transportation links. Apart from a few properties, there has been much less investment in the construction of new or purpose-built student accommodation in Johannesburg. This said, Auckland Park has emerged as a cluster for the development of purpose-built student accommodation in Johannesburg. Several international studies underscore inner-city locales and brownfield sites as significant for the development of student housing (Hubbard, 2008; 2009; Nakazawa, 2017; Smith et al., 2014; Tallon and Bromley, 2004). Sage et al (2013) argues that the development of purpose-built or retrofitted student accommodation has important linkages to urban regeneration.

In the context of Johannesburg, most of the buildings in this market are retrofitted from commercial, industrial and residential buildings located in the inner-city. The buildings are reconfigured into dormitory-style student residences with bedrooms, communal bathrooms and kitchens and various common areas for studying and recreation. The retrofitting of commercial or industrial space for student accommodation has received limited attention in extant literature (Collins, 2010). Therefore, this study provides a unique contribution in exploring the retrofitting of properties for student housing with important linkages to urban regeneration in Johannesburg.

Furthermore, chapter six delved into the lived experiences of students residing in the inner-city of Johannesburg. Safety and exposure to crime remains a major concern for students who reside in the inner-city. As students are mostly pedestrian, they are more exposed to crime. Many students indicated that the "in-between" spaces are not safe, i.e., spaces between their accommodation, transportation, and campus. The presence of hi-jacked, or illegally occupied buildings near student accommodation was flagged as a major concern for students as they feel vulnerable and exposed to criminal activities emanating from such properties. The concern for student safety is not a major theme in international studentification literature (Sage et al., 2012a; 2012b; 2013). Therefore, this study offers an important contribution to understanding students lived experiences related to crime and safety in urban space.

The case of Braamfontein provides an overview on the impact of studentification in an inner-city neighbourhood. It was found that investment in student housing in this area has produced a distinctive student district. The impact in Braamfontein stretches beyond the supply of student accommodation but also contributes to changes in retail and service offerings and the growth of the night-time economy. It can be argued that the formation of distinctive student neighbourhoods such as Braamfontein ties in with Galster's (2001) notion that neighbourhoods have become commodities. This housing option offers a standardised or packaged lifestyle to students. This links with Chatterton (1999; 2010) who found that student lifestyle is increasingly commodified. The formation of a distinctive student identity, however, is important in Braamfontein. The "Braam kids" identity is focused on the consumption of youth and street culture. For Fischer (1975) and Stoecker (1994) identity-based subcultures actively shape the production and reproduction of neighbourhoods. In addition, the studentification witnessed in Braamfontein ties in with arguments surrounding the notion of students as 'apprentice gentrifiers' (Hubbard, 2009; Smith and Holt, 2007). Braamfontein has become a space where students are consuming an aspirational lifestyle, and this helps with the reproduction of a district aimed at student lifestyle consumption.

Overall, it can be argued that studentification in Johannesburg has contributed to the circulation of capital in the urban environment. The development of student communes and purpose-built, and retrofitted student accommodation has seen the transformation of various neighbourhoods in Johannesburg. More broadly, this intersects with Harvey's

(1973; 1989a; 2012) argument on the role of residential differentiation and the creation of various housing-submarkets, which increases the flow of capital in the urban environment. It also ties in with Smith's (1996) notion that gentrification is the new frontier for capital accumulation. It can be argued that as a new form of neighbourhood change studentification has become one of the latest frontiers for capital accumulation in the urban environment.

7.3 FUTURE RESEARCH

According to estimates from the United Nations (2019) sub-Saharan Africa's population is set to double by 2050. Demographically Africa's population is young. This youth bulge in Africa's population will see the continued and rapid urbanisation of youth seeking education and economic opportunities in cities (Parnell and Pieterse, 2014). This presents unique challenges for the provision of higher education and student accommodation. These challenges are compounded by informality, poverty and inequality in African cities (Parnell and Oldfield, 2014). Therefore, research on youth and student geographies across urban Africa is needed. Robinson's (2006) notion of comparative analysis could help illuminate the similarities and differences of studentification across urban Africa.

The term studentification focuses on the impacts associated with private student accommodation. The impact of youth and student geographies could provide a more holistic overview on the impact of students and youth in general on the urban environment. The concept of student geographies has received limited attention in the global South. Therefore, a broader conceptualisation of student geographies is needed in the South African context. Their impact is not limited to neighbourhood change but contributes to broader urban innovation and the local economy. Students consume and produce urban space that stretches beyond the supply and demand for housing. This includes an array of student services, ranging from retail to leisure and entertainment. While the focus of this research was on student accommodation, it did touch on the dynamics of the night-time economy in Braamfontein. Overall, research on the night-time

economy is neglected in the South African context. Therefore, research is needed to understand the impact of the night-time economy in urban South Africa.

This research largely drew on qualitative methods of inquiry and was exploratory in nature. This approach was successful in gaining an in-depth understanding of studentification in Johannesburg. Future research, however, could draw on more quantitative methods to test these findings on a larger sample of students and residents. Furthermore, the focus of this research was predominantly around the University of Johannesburg's Auckland Park Kingsway campus, its surrounding residential areas and the inner-city of Johannesburg. Further research is needed to document the experience of studentification in the townships of Johannesburg, most notably Soweto. This research focused exclusively on housing in multiple occupation and purpose built and retrofitted student accommodation in Johannesburg. Further research on the buy-to-let market is needed, specifically for apartments located near university campuses.

This research revealed tension and conflict between long-term residents and students. In the context of Johannesburg, the process of studentification has contributed to the desegregation of former white middle- and working-class neighbourhoods located near the University of Johannesburg in Auckland Park. Dynamics of racial tension were noted among some students and long-term residents but often avoided by the participants. Instead 'lifestyle differences', were often underscored by long-term residents as a major contributor to tension and conflict. Given South Africa's history of race and class-based segregation, research on the integration of a largely black, and often first-generation student population into neighbourhoods is needed.

The geographies of students are diverse across South Africa. Therefore, apart from Johannesburg, research is needed in other large urban centres such as Pretoria, Durban and Cape Town. In agreement with Ackermann and Visser (2016) this topic also warrants further investigation in secondary cities, university-towns, townships, and rural South Africa. The provision of student accommodation at historically disadvantaged institutions requires urgent attention. Private student accommodation at these institutions is faced with challenges of informality, affordability and safety with student living in precarious conditions. The findings of this research touches on challenges of urban management and in particular lack of by-law enforcement in Johannesburg. More research is needed to understand these challenges, which can help inform city and

institutional policies to mitigate the impact of students in South African cities. Furthermore, historical research is needed to understand the relationship between universities and cities in South Africa.

Lastly, the recent events of the COVID-19 global pandemic have impacted this housing market. During the national state of disaster and lockdown higher education institutions switched to online and remote learning with most of their staff and students expected to work from home. Whilst there has been an ease in lockdown, many staff and students remain home. There is a lot of uncertainty as to how COVID-19 will impact student enrolment for 2021 and beyond. Furthermore, the pandemic has contributed to a significant financial strain on government and higher education institutions. Suppliers of private student accommodation were closed during lockdown. Even with strict hygiene and social distancing measures, densely occupied and communal living in student accommodation poses several health risks for the spread of COVID-19. Perhaps innovative design and new approaches to how student accommodation is built is needed in future. The South African economy and government funding has taken severe strain under COVID-19. It is uncertain how this will impact the funding of higher education and NSFAS. There is a risk that this might impact the student accommodation sector negatively as it is largely dependent on the sustainability of NSFAS funding. If indeed, the NSFAS funding is reduced then further research is needed to understand the ramifications that decreased NSFAS funding will have. This reduction will impact both the student's ability to afford quality accommodation, as well as the developers and investors willingness to continue supplying a student housing sub-market which is reliant on that guaranteed income stream or indeed, whether they will be incentivised to seek out alternative and more lucrative niche property asset classes.

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ANNEXURE A: List of Interviews

Student Housing Supplier, Johannesburg, 19 April 2017

Student Housing Supplier, Johannesburg, 19 July 2017

Student Housing Supplier, Johannesburg, 18 August 2017

Student Housing Supplier, Johannesburg, 8 November 2017

Student Housing Supplier, Johannesburg, 9 November 2017

Student Housing Supplier, Johannesburg, 10 November 2017

Representative, South Point Properties, Johannesburg, 19 February 2018

Real Estate Agent, Remax, Johannesburg, 5 March 2018

Real Estate Agent, Rawson, Johannesburg, 11 September 2018

Head of Private Student Accommodation, University of Johannesburg, 1 March 2018

Councillor, Ward 87, Johannesburg, 13 July 2017

Chairperson, Department of Development Planning, City of Johannesburg, 9 December 2018

Manager, Braamfontein Improvement District, Johannesburg, 3 April 2018

Chairperson, Auckland Park Resident's Association, Johannesburg, 10 August 2017

Member, Auckland Park Resident's Association, Johannesburg, 10 August 2017

Member, Auckland Park Resident's Association, Johannesburg, 14 August 2017

Member, Auckland Park Resident's Association, Johannesburg, 15 August 2017

Member, Brixton Community Forum, Johannesburg, 2 October 2018

Member, Brixton Community Forum, Johannesburg, 4 October 2018

Member, Melville Resident's Association, 18 August 2017a

Member, Melville Resident's Association, 18 August 2017b

ANNEXURE B: List of Focus Groups

Inner-city, Johannesburg, 16 February 2018

Braamfontein, UJ, Johannesburg, 23 February 2018

Brixton, Johannesburg, 2 March 2018

Auckland Park, Johannesburg, 9 March 2018

Melville, Johannesburg, 16 March 2018

Hurst Hill, Johannesburg, 23 March 2018

Braamfontein, Wits, Johannesburg, 5 April 2018

Westdene, Johannesburg, 11 May 2018

ANNEXURE C: Copy of Questionnaire

PRIVATE STUDENT HOUSING SURVEY

Dear student,

The demand for privately rented off-campus student housing has increased significantly over the past few years. The purpose of this survey is to investigate and understand the private student housing market in Johannesburg.

Your participation is voluntary and you may terminate it at any time. None of the questions are sensitive, but should you deem them to be so, you are free to ignore them. All responses are completely anonymous and will be used for academic research purposes only. No personal information that can lead to identification will be asked. By completing the survey, you agree to participate in the research which will be used in my thesis and possibly in presentations and publications that may arise from said thesis.

Thank you,

JJ Gregory (PhD Candidate)

Department of Geography, Environmental Management and Energy Studies, University of Johannesburg

jamesg@uj.ac.za

011 559 4452

1. Do you live in private off-campus student housing? (*This is any form of accommodation, other than living at home or at one of the university residences*).

Yes	
No	

If you answered NO, please do not complete this survey

2. Sex

Male	
Female	
Other	

3. Race

African	
Coloured	
Indian	
White	
Other	

4. Year of birth _____

5. Nationality

South African	
Other	

If you indicated other, please fill out country of origin _____

6. Province of origin _____

7. Home language _____

8. At which university or college are you studying?

WITS	
UJ APK	
UJ Bunting	
UJ DFC	
UJ Soweto	
Other	

If you have indicated other, please fill out the name of your institution

_____

9. Financial support

Own	
Parents / Custodian	
NFSAS	

Other bursary	

10. Please indicate what type of accommodation you live in

Commune	
Private Residence (Dormitory)	
Garden Cottage	
Apartment	
Other	

11. In what neighbourhood is your student housing located?

Johannesburg CBD *(Hillbrow, Doornfontein, Marshalltown, Newtown, etc.)*	
Braamfontein	
Melville	
Auckland Park	
Richmond	
Brixton	
Hursthill	
Westdene	
Sophiatown	
Soweto	
Other	

If you indicated other, please fill out the name of the neighbourhood you reside in
_____

12. Is the accommodation you are living in accredited by NFSAS and the university?

Yes	
No	

13. You find your accommodation affordable.

Very disagreeable	Disagreeable	Somewhat Disagreeable	Somewhat Agreeable	Agreeable	Very agreeable

14. The distance of your accommodation to campus is conveniently located.

Very disagreeable	Disagreeable	Somewhat Disagreeable	Somewhat Agreeable	Agreeable	Very agreeable

15. What mode of transport do you use to get to and from campus

Mega bus	
Metro bus	
Rea Vaya	
Accommodation bus/ shuttle	
Other	

16. The area you are currently living in provides you with the needed services to go about your everyday life. (Shopping facilities, banking services, public transport links, entertainment facilities, etc.)

Very disagreeable	Disagreeable	Somewhat Disagreeable	Somewhat Agreeable	Agreeable	Very agreeable

17. Where do you go for shopping?

_____

18. You are happy with the level of services offered by your accommodation supplier (laundry, internet, cleaning, etc.).

Very disagreeable	Disagreeable	Somewhat Disagreeable	Somewhat Agreeable	Agreeable	Very agreeable

19. You feel safe in the area you are living in.

Very disagreeable	Disagreeable	Somewhat Disagreeable	Somewhat Agreeable	Agreeable	Very agreeable

20. You get along with non-student neighbours in your area.

Very disagreeable	Disagreeable	Somewhat Disagreeable	Somewhat Agreeable	Agreeable	Very agreeable

21. Where do you go to socialise? *(List any bars, clubs, etc.)*

_____
_____
_____

22. What are some of the greatest advantages and disadvantages of living off-campus?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION

ANNEXURE D: Ethics Approval

UNIVERSITY OF JOHANNESBURG

FACULTY OF SCIENCE

FACULTY ETHICS COMMITTEE **Ethics Reference Number: 2017-1-04**

Student:	Mr James Jenkins Gregory
Supervisor:	Prof JM Rogerson
Co-Supervisor:	Prof J Saarinen
Department:	Department of Geography, Environmental Management and Energy Studies
Project Title:	Studentification in South Africa: a socio-spatial investigation of neighbourhood change

13 December 2018

Dear Mr Gregory

Re: Feedback on your application for ethical clearance

Status – Approved

With reference to your application for ethical clearance to use animals for testing / research purposes that served on 14th February 2017, the Faculty Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Science, University of Johannesburg reviewed and approved the application.

Sincerely

Mrs Tsholanang Nyoka
Faculty Officer: Postgraduate Studies
Tel: 011 559-3826
tshulin@uj.ac.za

ANNEXURE E: Informed Consent

UNIVERSITY OF JOHANNESBURG

FACULTY OF SCIENCE

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY, ENVIRONMENTAL MANAGEMENT AND ENERGY STUDIES

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: James Jenkins Gregory **STUDENT NUMBER**: 200904297

CELL NUMBER: 073 494 1302

Purpose of the Study:

The purpose of this research is to unpack the process of studentification and its effect on neighbourhood change in three South African cities, namely; Johannesburg, Pretoria and Potchefstroom. The effects of studentification will be measured by looking at various factors that contribute to neighbourhood change. These include; socio-spatial change, economic and social impacts and the extent to which student lifestyle is commodified.

Procedures:

A meeting will be arranged with stakeholders involved in the process of studentification and a semi structured interview will be conducted. The interview will take place at a convenient time and location for the participant. The interview time will be around 30 minutes.

Risks/Discomfort:

There are no known risks associated with participation in this study. If there are any questions posed to you during the interview that cause discomfort, embarrassment or infringes on your organisations privacy, you are free to not answer them. Should the interview become distressing to you, it will be terminated immediately.

Benefits:

Due to the nature of this topic the findings of this research will be valuable to various stakeholders across various disciplines. The findings of this research could inform national and local government policies. The findings of this research could be particularly valuable to

universities, property developers, investors and other stakeholders such as neighbourhood associations and urban renewal initiatives.

Alternatives to Participation:

Participation in this study is voluntary. You are free to withdraw or discontinue participation at any time. Refusal to participate in this study will in no way affect the study.

Cost Compensation:

Participation in this study will involve no costs or payments to you.

Feedback:

Results of the study will be accessible in a published thesis and academic journal articles. If you wish the results to be shared with you, please indicate your contact details below:

Email address: _____

Telephone/cellphone no.: _____

Confidentiality:

All information collected during the study period will be kept strictly confidential. Your decision whether or not to participate in the research or to withdraw from the research at any time will in no way affect your employment status. Permission to conduct the study at your workplace has been sought from the organisation authorities, and if you do choose to participate in the study, your participation will be completely anonymous. No publications or reports from this study will include identifying information on any participant.